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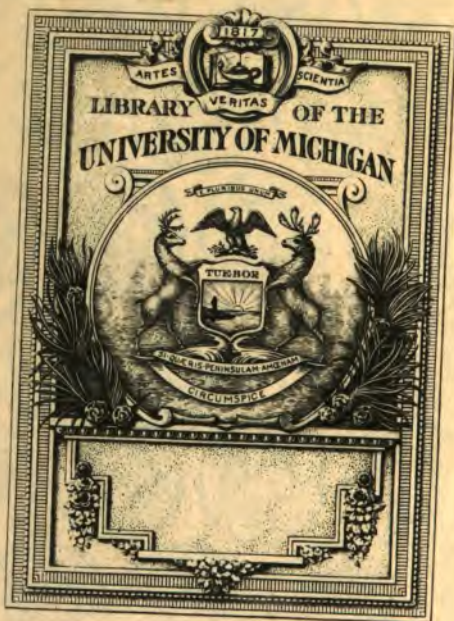
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INDIAN NOTES AND MONOGRAPHS



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**THE EARLIEST NOTICES
CONCERNING THE
CONQUEST OF MEXICO
BY CORTÉS IN 1519**

BY

MARSHALL H. SAVILLE
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THE EARLIEST NOTICES CON-
CERNING THE CONQUEST OF
MEXICO BY CORTÉS IN 1519

BY MARSHALL H. SAVILLE

N the 10th of February, 1519, Hernan Cortés set sail from Cuba for Yucatan and the coast of the present state of Vera Cruz, Mexico, to follow up the discoveries of a new country made respectively in 1517 by Francisco Hernández de Córdoba¹ and in 1518 by Juan de Grijalva.² Cortés arrived at the island of San Juan Ulua on Thursday, April 21, 1519. Bernal Diaz, one of the companions of Cortés and a member of the two previous expeditions, wrote about the landing as follows:

“The next day, which was Good Friday, we disembarked with the horses and guns, on some sand hills, which rise to a considerable height,

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	<p>for there was no level land, nothing but sand dunes; and the artillery man Mesa placed the guns in position to the best of his judgment. Then we set up an altar, where mass was said, and we made huts and shelters for Cortés and the captains, and three hundred of the soldiers brought wood and made houses for themselves, and we placed the horses where they would be safe, and in this way Good Friday was passed." ³</p> <p>In a few days Cortés received a great number of presents through the messengers and subject chiefs of Montezuma, among them being two great discs, more than six feet in diameter, one of gold and the other of silver.⁴</p> <p>Within a short time Cortés sent Francisco de Montejo on an exploring expedition up the coast, and on his return he reported finding a better place for headquarters, where there was a port sheltered from the north winds. Some time during May or June (the exact date has not been determined) the entire party removed to this region, and preparations were made to establish a permanent town. This was soon accomplished, and the settlement was given the name of Villa Rica</p>
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NEW SEVILLE	7
<p>de la Vera Cruz.⁵ It was close to the Indian town of Quiahuiztlan, which was called the port of Archidona.⁶ Not far distant was the important city of Cempoalla, the chief settlement of the region, occupied by Indians of the Totonacan stock. Cortés gave it the name of New Seville.⁷ The inhabitants of this part of the country were at that time under the subjection of Montezuma, and because of excesses of the Aztec tribute-gatherers, they became willing allies of the Spaniards.</p> <p>Cortés resolved to send to Spain a report of his discoveries, along with the presents he had received. He wrote a long letter, which has not come to light; the authorities of the new town also prepared an extended report, together with an inventory of the treasure,⁸ and Alonso Portocarrero and Francisco de Montejo were chosen to take charge of the ship in which were to go six Indians, to show the King what manner of people inhabited the new land. The little vessel left Mexico, July 16; a stop was made in</p>	
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	<p>Cuba, contrary to the definite orders of Cortés, and the ship finally arrived in Seville, November 5, 1519, nearly four months after the departure from Mexico. The arrival of the treasure ship immediately excited those who saw the wonderful objects and heard the reports of the cities with stone buildings, paved streets, and public squares. No doubt many letters were written by those who had remained behind in the new town, and those in Spain who talked with the sailors were not long in spreading the news. The object of this paper is to call attention to several letters of this character.</p> <p>In 1866, Frederick Muller, the bookseller in Amsterdam, received in a purchase of books from a great Austrian library, a precious little manuscript, containing three letters written in German, relating to the conquest of Mexico in 1519 by Hernan Cortés. It consisted of two folio sheets folded into eight pages, probably taken from an old account book, and was wrapped in a page of ancient music, with a pasteboard cover. Two</p>
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<p>pages are blank, and the three letters are preceded by the general title, "News how the men of our most gracious Sovereign King of Rome and Spain have found a most costly new country," with the date 1520. The writing is cursive and difficult to read in certain parts, and dates certainly from the first part of the sixteenth century. In 1871 Muller published the manuscript under the title, "Trois Lettres sur la decouverte du Yucatan et les merveilles de ce pays. Ecrites par des compagnons de l'expedition sous Jean de Grivalja [<i>sic</i>], Mai 1518." The edition was limited to thirty numbered copies, printed on old paper. The original German text appears first, in Gothic characters cast in 1480, then follows a transcription in modern German in Elzevir type, finally a translation into French, printed in type from the Plantain press, cast in 1555. The original manuscript was offered for sale for 120 florins, in Muller's catalog issued in 1872. Here, in describing the item, he corrects the mistake made in the title of his publica-</p>	
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	<p>tion of the letters, in which he mentions them as relating to the expedition of Grijalva to Yucatan in 1518.⁹</p> <p>These letters are highly important, and form source material of value concerning the early stages of the conquest of Mexico. The first letter was undoubtedly written in Spanish and sent by a servant to his master, by one who accompanied the expedition of Cortés from Cuba to the shores of the present state of Vera Cruz. The German translation at hand evidently omits personal matters, and gives only that which calls attention to the interesting discoveries made and the treasure obtained by Cortés. It was written in the city named New Seville by Cortés, "in the port of Archidoma [<i>sic</i>], the 28th of June, 1518." New Seville, as has been said, was the large Totonacan city of Cempoalla, and Archidona was a town not far distant, the Indian name of which was Quiahuiztlan. According to Bernal Diaz this place was a fortress-like town on a plain, half a league from where the Spaniards established their</p>
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<p>first settlement in Mexico, to which they gave the name Villa Rica de la Vera Cruz. The ruins of Cempoalla still exist, and show the remains of one of the most interesting of ancient Mexican cities. The site is about sixteen miles from the coast. Cortés made the place his headquarters, and thence set out on his memorable trip into the unknown interior to visit Montezuma in Tenochtitlan, his stronghold, in the valley of Mexico.</p> <p>The date of the letter indicates that it was written a little more than two weeks before the ship which carried the treasure and the reports of the progress of the expedition was despatched to Spain. The inventory accompanying the treasure was signed on July 6, and the letter sent by the town council of the new town is dated July 10. The ship sailed, as recorded by Cortés, on July 16. This letter is one of the six extant accounts written by eyewitnesses of this early period of the conquest of Mexico. First, is the collection of letters by Cortés.¹⁰ Next in order, and far more instructive,</p>	
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	<p>is the History of the Conquest, by Bernal Diaz del Castillo.¹¹ Then we have the so-called Anonymous Conquerer.¹² These three sources have been known for a long time, and have been utilized by writers of the subject. In 1866, Icazbalceta published for the first time the fourth source from an eyewitness, the <i>Relación</i> of Captain Andrés de Tapia.¹³ The letter under consideration was printed in 1871, but the edition is so small that it can hardly be said to have been made known. The sixth account, entitled <i>Historia de la Nueva España</i>, was found by Paso y Troncoso in Spain in 1892, and was published in tomo VII of the <i>Anales del Museo Nacional de México</i> in 1900; it is by Francisco de Aguilar, and is quite important, although it adds little to what may be gathered from the writings of Cortés and Bernal Diaz.¹⁴ As first-hand information these accounts are in a class by themselves, and must be considered as distinct from the many histories relating to the events of this epoch which appeared later.</p>
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SECOND LETTER	13
<p>The second letter published by Muller is a copy of one written in Seville, dated November 7, to be sent to Juan de la Pena in Burgos. From this letter, and the third one which bears the same date, we obtain the exact time of the arrival of the treasure ship in Seville, for both state that the vessel reached there two days before, hence, on November 5, 1519. This date is absolutely corroborated by the list found by Muñoz in the Manual del Tesorero of the Casa de Contratación of Seville, which states that the presents were received there on Saturday, November 5, 1519,¹⁵ evidence that such a rich treasure was not allowed to remain on the ship, but was delivered to the authorities for safekeeping the very day of arrival, as might be expected. The writer of this second letter relates briefly what he gleaned from conversation with those who came on the caravel. He speaks of Cempoalla (under the name of New Seville), and also mentions briefly some of the objects of gold and silver. We shall refer to this letter again.</p>	
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	<p>The third letter is very short; it was written in Seville, November 5, by a servant named Diego Dienz, of one Diego Dicharo, to Gencato y Almacon in Burgos. Like the other two, it calls attention to the large cities discovered and the gold treasure found in New Spain, which they then called Yucatan.</p> <p>Another letter of the same tenor, written in Spanish, was brought to light by Cesáreo Fernández Duro in 1885, and published by him as the First Notices of Yucatan.¹⁶ This letter, which was found in the archives of the Royal Academy of History in Madrid, was reprinted in 1898, in the introduction to the first volume of the <i>Relaciones de Yucatan</i>, published in the <i>Colección de Documentos de Ultramar</i>, tomo XI.¹⁷ The editor thinks there is no doubt that this letter refers to the arrival of a vessel, either during the last months of the year 1518 or at the beginning of 1519, which brought the first news of the discovery of Yucatan. If this is true, the ship was the one which brought the news of the discoveries made</p>
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ANOTHER LETTER	15
<p>in Yucatan and along the coast of Mexico in 1518 by Juan de Grijalva, and also the treasure obtained from the Indians at that time. A comparison of this letter published by Fernández Duro with the second Muller letter, shows such similarities that there can be no doubt that the German copy was a translation hastily made of one in Spanish similar to that published by Fernández Duro. The Spanish letter is addressed to the Archbishop of Granada, President of the Council, while the German one is addressed to Juan de la Pena in Burgos. There are slight minor differences to be noted, but the general details of the two letters are the same. These differences may be due to carelessness on the part of the German translator, who hastened to send the news of the great discovery to Austria. The truth seems to be that the same person wrote similar letters to at least two different individuals, one in Granada and the other in Burgos. It is indeed fortuitous that after the lapse of centuries both the German and the</p>	
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16	CONQUEST BY CORTÉS
	<p>Spanish epistles should come to light at about the same time. That Fernández Duro was unaware of the publication of a German rendering of this information is not strange, when we consider the extremely small edition published by Muller. The context of the Spanish letter proves beyond doubt that it refers to the arrival of the vessel sent home by Cortés.</p> <p>Two great discs, one of gold, the other of silver, likened by the early writers to wheels, were the most imposing of the gifts sent by Cortés. In the list of presents brought to Cuba by Grijalva in 1518, and sent to Spain by Governor Velasquez, which is preserved in the work of Gomara,¹⁸ no mention is made of objects of this description, neither is any reference thereto in the Itinerary of Grijalva, written by Juan Diaz, the chaplain of the fleet, nor in the work of Oviedo y Valdés, who has given us the most extended account of this expedition.¹⁹ These notable objects are described or mentioned in all four letters to</p>
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THE GREAT DISCS	17
<p>which we have just referred. Both Peter Martyr²⁰ and Las Casas²¹ saw them in Valladolid, where they had been sent for the inspection of the King, in April, 1520. Peter Martyr writes specifically that they were sent by Cortés. Furthermore, they are noted by all the eyewitnesses of the conquest with the exception of Cortés. The gold disc is catalogued in the Inventory accompanying the specimens, drawn up in July, 1519, by Portocarrero and Montejo, who brought the treasure to Spain. We are at a loss to understand why the silver disc is not mentioned in the Inventory. A note that the presents were delivered to Valladolid for the inspection of the King during Holy Week, appears at the end of the list. Finally, we would call attention to the statement of Las Casas that these pieces, the large gold and silver discs, were sent to the coast of Mexico by Montezuma in 1518 to be given to Grijalva, but when they arrived there, Grijalva had already departed on his return to Cuba,²² a statement also found in Gomara.²³</p>	
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	<p>The Spanish letter begins, as does the German one, with the announcement that the caravel arrived in Seville two days before, hence the date when it was written is certainly November 7, 1519. This date antedates by more than a year the publication in Basel, in 1521, of the account of the Grijalva expedition written by Peter Martyr,²⁴ but the Itinerary of Grijalva, written by the chaplain of the fleet, Juan Diaz, appeared earlier and must be recognized as the first printed notice of Yucatan. It was issued from the press as an appendix to the Travels of Ludovico Varthema, on March 3, 1520,²⁵ several months after the arrival of the treasure ship of Cortés, and a few weeks before these gifts were seen by the King.</p> <p>On March 17 of the same year there appeared in Nuremberg a small tract of 12 pages by an anonymous author, which contains a notice of discoveries of Córdoba, Grijalva, and Cortés. Bancroft writes that it is a collection of extracts from several letters to Charles V, referring to Yucatan and forming an</p>
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CORDOBA'S VOYAGE	19
<p>account of a recently discovered island, describing its locality, and the customs and habits of its inhabitants. On the first page is mentioned the voyage of Córdoba and the pilot Alaminos, made in 1517 to the peninsula of Yucatan. On the reverse of the first leaf, in the second line begins an account of the voyage of Juan de Grijalva, stating that he sailed from the island (of Cuba) with three ships and one brigantine, with 360 men, and sailed to the land Iucatham and the island Chosumellam (Cozumel). The notice of this voyage is short, occupying this page (38 lines) and two-thirds of the next page. It then proceeds to relate some things about the expedition of Cortés.</p> <p>There seems to be a mistake in the date of Córdoba's voyage, as the tract begins, "Als man zalt nach Christi gefurt tausendt funfshunderft und neunzehn Jar de sechste Julii Ist von der Inseln genant Fernandina auff dem meere gegē dem nidergang Einē der Inseln so jetziger zeit die Hispanier Indias nennen ein Schiffart der Spaniol mit zweiyē grossen</p>	
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	<p>schiffen vund einem kleinerem das man verganto nennet under dem Hauptman Francisco von Cordoba. Schiffpatron oder Anthonio de Alaminos, dz sie auss nacht parlichen Inseln ettlich einwoner zu knechtē hinfürtē auss gangen," etc. The date of sailing should be 1517 instead of 1519. There is a copy of this rare tract in the New York Public Library. The full title is, "Ein ausszug ettlicher send-brief dem aller durchleüchtigsten gross-mechtigiste Fursten vnd Herren Carl Romischen vnd Hyspanischē König &c vnserm gnedigen hern durch ire verordent Hauptleut von wegen einer new gefundē Inseln, der selbē gelegenheit vnd jnwoner sitten vn gewonheitē inhaltend vor Kurtzuerschienen tagen zugesandt." Colophon, "Nürnberg: Frederich Pepys, 17 tag Marij, MDXX." This tract was printed two weeks after the printing of the Itinerary of Juan Diaz in Venice.</p> <p>Another early anonymous publication of the news of these discoveries has been described by HARRISSE. It is noted in the Additions to his Bibliotheca Ameri-</p>
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LETTER ON GRIJALVA	21
<p>cana Vetustissima, published in Paris in 1872. As this seems to be the only copy known, we give <i>in extenso</i> what Harrissee writes about it. The title is, "Littera mādāta della Insula de Cuba de India in laquale se cotiene de le isnule Citta Gente et animali nouamente trouate de lanno AD. XIX. p li Spagnoli." It is a quarto <i>sine loco</i>, with title one-leaf and seven unnumbered leaves of text printed in Roman characters. It is in the Marciana Library, Florence. Harrissee's description is:</p> <p>"The present letter is an account of Grijalva's expedition to Yucatan. It differs materially from the description of Juan Diaz, as given in the version published at Venice by Mat. Pagan and Zorzi di Rusconi. It begins thus: 'A di primo, del mese de Magio de questo pñte anno 1519 [1518]. Lo Signore Iohāne de grisalua capitano maggiore cō.200 santi & dui nauigli e vno brigantino se partimo de la insula chimata Cuba e infra tre sequeti giorni hauessimo scoperto terra' . . . and ends in this wise: 'E vn altro di trouāo carauela co victuaglia che mandaua a nui lo signor Dego velasquez loco tenete dela isula de Cuba credēdo che hauessimo popolato in qualche loco e ne disseno che erano nella</p>	
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	<p>ditta Insula de cuba quatro altri nauigli p venire in nostro soccorso e cosi ne tornamo ala dita insula de cuba dove fossimo resceputi dali nostri nō tropo volunuiera pche nō haueuamo cominciato a popular i vna de questi insule o netteuano in ordine otto nauigli grossi p dar la volta cō piu gente a popular in qlche bon loco credemo sera la nostra partita a principio del mese de Febraro del anno M.D. XX. Finis. V.S.”</p> <p>An important tract, of which but two copies are known, one in the New York Public Library, the other in the John Carter Brown Library, has been described by Harrisse in his <i>Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima</i> (no. 101). It is “Anonymous—Within a border. Provinciae Sive Regiones In India Occidentali Noviter Reperta In Vltima Navigatione. Et Valleotti septima Martii. Millesimo Quingentesimo vigesimo.* Very small 4to, fourteen unnumbered leaves, including the title.” Harrisse adds: “The present is an account of the Conquest of Cuba by Diego Velasquez, and</p> <p>* “Anglice: The provinces or regions in the West Indies recently discovered in the last navigation. Valladolid, March 7th, 1850 [1520].”</p>
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AUGSBURG TRACT	23
<p>seems to be a translation into Latin of a Spanish narration as yet unknown." As pointed out by Mr Wilberforce Eames, who drew attention to this work, the tract refers to the discovery of Yucatan by Cordoba in 1517, and there are reasons for belief that it was printed in Cologne.</p> <p>Another anonymous tract treating of these early discoveries in Mexico was printed in Augsburg, Germany, probably in 1522. It is entitled, "Newe Zeitung von dem Lande das die Sponier funden haben ym 1521. iare genant Iucatan." It bears no date, and but two copies are known, one in the "Royal" Library in Berlin, the other in the City Library of Augsburg. The Berlin copy consists of four leaves: on the first page is the title and an illustration; on the second page text; third page text and a repetition of the illustration on the first page; fourth page text; fifth page text and an illustration; sixth page text; seventh page text and a repetition of the engraving on the fifth page; eighth page text.</p>	
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	<p>According to Harrisse, who has described the Augsburg example, the Berlin copy lacks the last two leaves. He states that the copy in Augsburg has title one-leaf, and five unnumbered leaves. The illustration in the Augsburg copy on the fifth and seventh pages represents a town and an island with the inscription, "Gross Venedig," referring evidently to Tenochtitlan (City of Mexico), which was situated on an island in a lake intersected by many canals. A facsimile of the Berlin example was printed in an edition of one hundred copies in 1873.</p> <p>An exceedingly rare tract of this character, a copy of which is in the New York Public Library, is "Ein schone Newe zeytung so Kayserlich Mayestet auss India yetz nemlich zukommen seind. Gar hupsch vo den Newen ynseln, ynd von yrem sytten Kurtweylich zu lesen." (n.p., n.d.) Harrisse states that it contains "an abridged account of the voyage of Columbus, and of the conquest of Mexico down to the year 1522, [and] was printed, it is supposed, at Augsburg</p>
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FIRST GERMAN LETTER	25
<p>by Sigmund Grimm, about 1522." He gives in B.A.V., no. 115, a reproduction of the engraved title-page.</p> <p>The peninsula of Yucatan was discovered in 1517 by Francisco Hernandez de Córdoba, of which the only account by an eyewitness is that of Bernal Diaz. Grijalva was sent out the next year to follow up this discovery, and his expedition coasted along the Mexican shores as far north as Tuxpan. Cortés conquered the country, and added this immense territory to the realms of the sovereigns of Spain.</p> <p>Here follow translations of these four interesting documents:</p> <p style="text-align: center;">FIRST GERMAN LETTER</p> <p><i>"News how the men of our most gracious Sovereign King of Rome and Spain have found a most costly new country.</i></p> <p style="text-align: center;">"1520.</p> <p><i>"The following is the copy of a letter written by a servant to his master from the new found land called Yucatan."²⁶</i></p>	
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	<p>“In the said letter there is contained much that does not belong here; here follows only the useful.</p> <p>“The said servant was in the Indies or the island of Cuba, from which he sailed with three ships to discover new lands. These three ships²⁷ were sent by Doctor Velasquez, Governor of His Royal Majesty in the land of Cuba, and they have found a great new people. The writer of this letter traveled in the company of a knight named Fernando Cortés, who should travel with the new tidings to the said Doctor Velasquez, Governor of the island of Cuba. Therefore they have traveled united to our Master and King, bringing him the grand and wonderful presents which were given by the peoples of the said lands.</p> <p>“From the new tidings from the land named Yucatan which we have discovered, E. G. should know that it is the richest land in the world where were found the following things. It has so much gold innumerable or without comparison, and has much silver and precious</p>
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<p>stones, namely, turquoise, garnets, rubies, and many other necessary things according to people who knew it. There are many clothes of cotton richly worked with figures sewed with a needle. One can hardly tell what wonderful things one finds in their houses; their bedsteads are covered with canopies and other costly cloths. The people of this land are honest, and have extraordinarily beautiful women. One cannot estimate the value of the houses of the great lords, neither are they comparable with those in our land, because it is a great sight to see the buildings of these countries, the large halls, the entrances to the doors, the courtyards, are built with much marble and are decorated; all buildings are painted in various colors. They have many dwellings so that the king with all his retinue may live comfortably therein. It is hard to tell what curious things one finds; their gardens are decorated with trees, with tables for banquets wonderfully wrought. The cities are larger than Seville; more than half of them have five</p>	
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	<p>miles of roads in length and breadth, wonderously beautiful, with splendid streets all of them beautifully paved; all buildings are plastered inside with teraltza, as white and pure as paper. I could relate to E. G. almost 600,000 of these extraordinary things. I let E. G. know that the first time we went on land we spent 15 days in the great city. There they brought us so many pieces of worked gold that it is neither to believe nor to relate. It has been related to E. G. without doubt of the valuable trinkets of gold and precious stones which they carried with them to donate to the Roman Royal Majesty, and as it might occur that E. G. does not get a chance to see these trinkets, I will herein describe a few of these pieces which are being sent on these ships to His Royal Majesty.</p> <p>“Two round discs, one of fine gold, the other of fine silver, finely worked with beautiful figures out of free hand, which were given to the Captain. The gold disc is 7 palms broad, and 7 palms long; the other of silver is the little finger smaller.</p>
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<p>"Further; a head of a great snake or dragon, that is a figure of very fine gold, with gold teeth; this is a full palm broad, and three fingers thick; note how large this head is. The eyes are of costly precious stones, and decorated with very costly feathers.²⁸</p> <p>"Further; a great disc of precious stones, which is on the inside and outside lined with a tiger-skin, which skins are very highly valued.</p> <p>"Further; four necklaces with many costly stones mounted in gold.</p> <p>"Further; a horn of a sea-fish made of gold, 2 palms long, and about 2 palms broad, entirely of gold.</p> <p>"Further; a head of gold, and many other pieces of gold, silver, and precious stones. I know nothing more to communicate to E. G. from here but that it is the best country of all things in this world. Written in the city named New Seville, in the port of Archidoma,²⁹ the 28th of June, 1519.</p> <p>"Furthermore, there is contained in said letter: the natives are of fairly good</p>	
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	<p>conservation and beautiful of body and face; very wealthy; they are circumcised; they worship idols, and eat only pur[?] bread; they have no other bread. There are here a great many bees, sekt(?), lots of wax, and big peaches. It is believed that these natives have peopled the land originally when Rome was destroyed. It is a very friendly people, and they have (manifested) great joy that they have seen Christians, and they themselves have brought the Christians among their people, and shown them the land. Our Captain has honored their King greatly by presents which they have valued very highly. Of these 3 ships which Diego Velasquez sent to discover this land, he has sent over only one, the others remain in the land with about 50 men.³⁰ They have built fortresses and castles.³¹ The presents sent to our Lord and King are valued at 15,000 Castile. It is all subtle and beautiful; it is not known whether the land is a mainland or not. This land has a lot of spice which has the shape of nails [cloves]."</p>
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SECOND GERMAN LETTER	31
<p>SECOND GERMAN LETTER</p> <p><i>"Here follows the copy of a letter from Seville, November 7, written to Juan de la Pena in Burgos.</i></p> <p>"Two days ago a caravel arrived of 70 to 80 tons burden, from a new country called Yucatan; it brought 50 Indians³² from the said land called Yucatan, and they say that in their country about 15 or 20 years ago, 8 Castilian men from this city of Seville were married there, and that they are said to be very rich. These men arrived at said time through loss in a storm of a caravel, which had gone out on discoveries; that is why the caravel arrived, and these 8 men were saved.³³ It is a country with many cities surrounded by walls like our city. And the first city in which these Castilians or Spaniards live is said to contain 500 men, and is situated at the entrance of a port on the sea.³⁴ Our Christians have a separate dwelling on the outskirts of the city, about an arquebus shot away, and they are almost united with the other</p>	
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	<p>and trade daily with those of the city. They have gone with a little boat 14 miles³⁵ from said port inland, and have found a city of 14,000 inhabitants or men, and have given the city the name of Seville the new one, or New Seville.³⁶ It is said to have strong walls and very beautiful towers, beautiful palaces and market places; there is also said to be a great deal of commerce with the tradesmen. It is also said that higher up, about 4 miles³⁷ above said port or waters, there is a still larger city; and they are said to have been there 10 days, and (this city) is said to have 1000 inhabitants.³⁸ This I say according to what I have heard from others who have been there. Now I will tell also what I have seen.</p> <p>“First, a bread (loaf) of gold bigger than a wagon wheel, and in it there are fashioned, just as one makes little objects out of tin, some wild animals, and in the center is the figure of a squatting woman,³⁹ called Dercemj [zemi],⁴⁰ that means the devil. This, Pedro Garcia de</p>
IX	INDIAN NOTES

SECOND GERMAN LETTER	33
<p>Careon should understand very well. It is wrought very well with many figures all around, and the bread, or wheel, weighs fully 150 marks of gold of the fineness of 20 carat gold. Further, (they) bring a wheel of fine silver, perhaps bigger even than the abovementioned, and it has a figure analogous to the one above said. The figure is a man and the other in the golden wheel a woman; then there is still another wheel or disc with 5 round gold discs, beautifully wrought, and very hard and firm, with feathers or feather tufts, exceedingly subtle and beautifully adorned. Further, 8 boxes in which there are different and curious things of gold, of which much could be written, but it is such a great quantity of gold that one can estimate it as 25,000 pesos of gold.</p> <p>“Further, one has given there for a piece of crystal, which is here worth 2 maravedis, 500 pesos, and the Indians desire it very much. They tell of the most marvelous things that have ever been heard of. It is impossible to write</p>	
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	<p>about (them). And how they finally got at them? I could not learn; later I will be able to write you about all of it in detail, that E. G. will learn of the great miracles and signs of God, that one has found so many things.</p> <p>"They further say, that the Lord of their land is more attended to than the Emperor, in great state and triumph; he has 10 porters before one arrives where the King is, and in the kitchen where his meals are prepared there are 20 women."⁴¹</p> <p style="text-align: center;">THIRD GERMAN LETTER</p> <p><i>"Follows copy of a letter from Seville, November 7, written by Diego Dicharo's servant, whose name is Diego Dienz, to Gencato y Almacon in Burgos.</i></p> <p>"I give E. G. to know that two days ago a caravel has arrived here which comes from a country called Yucatan; this, Diego Velasquez of Cuba has sent to discover, and they bring great news, that is, that they have found the richest land that may exist; that they have found therein cities of 20,000 homes, and</p>
IX	INDIAN NOTES

THIRD GERMAN LETTER	35
<p>especially one in which there are said to be 50,000 fires or inhabitants. And the houses are of stone, and the land is very beautiful, and rich in grazing, mountains and game like in our countries; also exceedingly fertile, especially in gold. And they bring outside of many pieces, two big wheels, one of gold, weighing 30,000 of Castile; one of silver weighing 50 marks; the piece is as big as a mill-stone.⁴² It is to be understood that if there are so many such things which one must consider as being the truth, that the peoples of this land have great abundance of gold and silver. Their little vessels and utensils which are used in the houses (are) all of gold and silver, and they give them away for little. These (reports) are great news."</p> <p style="text-align: center;">SPANISH LETTER</p> <p><i>"The news which has come from Seville of all that was brought by a caravel that came from Tierra Firme, which was sent to the Lord Archbishop of Granada, President of the Council."⁴³</i></p>	
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	<p>“Two days ago there arrived here a caravel of LXXX tons, which came from this new land which they call Hiucata [Yucatan]. It brought in it six Indians from this same land. They say that there are there (for the past) fifteen or twenty years, eight Castilians of Seville and of the country, and these men are from a caravel which was lost, which went to that land, from which (caravel) these escaped, and they are there, married and rich.</p> <p>‘It is a land where there are towns walled like those here, and also cities, and in the first city, where the Spaniards live, they say there are five hundred men there, of four hundred inhabitants,⁴⁴ and it is at the mouth of a river which is close to the sea, and the Spaniards who are there have made another settlement outside of the city, a cross-bow shot away, and they are there very friendly, and trade one with the other.</p> <p>“Fourteen leagues above the place where the boat of this caravel went, they found a city of XIIIJ U [14,000] inhabi-</p>
IX	INDIAN NOTES

SPANISH LETTER	37
<p>tants; they gave it the name New Seville, and say that there are there towers, and walls in it, and with very beautiful houses and a town house, and all that there is found in Seville, and plazas and markets, and much traffic, and they say that XL leagues above, there is another city larger than the one they say, which might have IX U [9000] inhabitants; this is by hearsay, for they did not go there. Now I wish to speak about what the caravel brought, which I saw with my own eyes.</p> <p>“First, a mass of gold as wide as a cart-wheel; I say that it is worked, as when they work over pitch, a great plate of silver; there are in it several large beasts; it has a mass in the center, with the figure of a seated woman, which is, one might say, the devil, and it is very well made, and (there are) many other pictures round about it, and this gold wheel weighs fully one hundred and fifty marks of gold of more than twenty carats.</p> <p>“There is furthermore another wheel of the same size, which is of fine silver, and it has some figures, similar to the</p>	
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38	CONQUEST BY CORTÉS
	<p>other, in the center, and this figure is a male, and that of the gold one, a female; and a round shield, with five plates of gold, and worked out in an exquisite manner, and a feather-piece worked par excellence, and eight chests filled with divers things, which it would take too long to recount, in which there are head armor of gold, and mortars of gold, and bows and arrows of gold, and such a quantity of gold that they say there is more than twenty five pesos of gold, only in these things, and all of this they say, was shown (to them) by the principal Indians, and from them was bartered. For a crystal that is worth two maravedis, they [the Indians] gave five hundred pesos of gold, and in this manner all other things (in) proportion. They speak of so many marvels that one cannot write (about them).</p> <p>“They say that the Lord of all this land is served better than an Empefor, with more triumph [state]; that he has ten gate-keepers before one reaches where he is, and in the kitchen where the food</p>
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<p>is prepared, they say there are easily two hundred women, so well kept is the house."</p> <p>NOTES</p> <p>1. A study of documentary material regarding the motives underlying the despatch of the expedition under the command of Córdoba, and the question of the landfall, has been recently published by the writer, "The Discovery of Yucatan in 1517 by Francisco Hernandez de Córdoba," in <i>The Geographical Review</i>, New York, vol. VI, no. 5, November, 1918.</p> <p>2. The "Itinerary" of Juan de Grijalva, written by the chaplain of the fleet, was published in Italian by Ludovico de Varthema in his work entitled "Itinerario de Ludouico Varthema Bolognese ne lo Egypto ne la Suria ne la Arabia deserta & Felice ne la Persia: ne la India: & ne la Ethiopia. La fede el uiuiere & costūi de le p̄fate pułcie. Et al p̄sente agiōtoui alcūe isole nouamēte ritrouate. [Wood-cut.] [Colophon:] ¶ Impresso in Venetia per Zorzi di Rusconi Milanese. Nell'anno della Incarnatione del nostro Signore Ieso Christo. M.D. XX. adi III. de Marzo. Regnando lo inclito Principe Duca de Venetia. Registro. A B C D E F G H I K L M N Tutti sono Quaderni." 103 unnumbered leaves. On 85^b begins: "¶ Itinerario de l'armata del Re Catholico in India verso la Isola de Iuchathan del anno. M. D. XVIII. alla qual su presidēte & Capitan General Ioan de Grisalua elqual e facto</p>	
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	<p>per El Capellano maggior de dicta armata a sua alteza." It was translated into French by Ternaux-Compans, and published in vol. x of his <i>Voyages, Relations et Mémoires Originaux pour Servir a l'Histoire de l'Amérique</i>, Paris, 1838. A translation into Spanish was published by Joaquin Garcia Icazbalceta in his <i>Colección de Documentos para la Historia de México</i>, tomo. i, pp. 281-308, with parallel Italian text. This has been translated into English by the writer and will appear as vol. III of the Publications of the Cortes Society.</p> <p>3. The edition of Bernal Diaz del Castillo consulted is the translation made by Alfred P. Maudslay, published by the Hakluyt Society in five volumes, the 2d Series, vols. 23-25, 30, and 40, London, 1908-16. See vol. i, book iii, chap. xxxviii, p. 137.</p> <p>4. An extended study of these objects, based on documentary material, has been made by the writer in his work, "The Goldsmith's Art in Ancient Mexico," to be published in this series.</p> <p>5. On this subject consult the work of Bernal Diaz, op. cit.</p> <p>6. A document entitled "Escriptura convenida entre Hernando Cortés é el regimiento de la Villa-Rica en la Vera Cruz, sobre defensa de sus habitantes y derechos que habia de recaudar. Agosto 5 de 1519," published in <i>Colección de Documentos Inéditos del Archivo de Indias</i>, tomo xxvi, Madrid, 1876, begins as follows: "En el</p>
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<p>pueblo de Campual [Cempoalla], que agora es nombrado Sevilla, termino é xurisdiccion de la Villa-Rica de la Vera Cruz del Puerto de Archidona." In the same volume of the <i>Colección</i> is another document, "Presentaciones é Xuramentos de los testigos que presentó la parte del Marques del Valle para en prueba de sus descargos. Abril de 1534," in which is the following: "Lo que sabo de la dicha pregunta, es que dende á pocos dias queste testigo llegó en la dicha villa de la Vera Cruz, primeramente poblada, el dicho Don Hernando Cortés se aposentó en un pueblo alto ques cerca de la dicha villa, que los Indios llaman Quiabstlan [Quiahuiztlan] e los españoles por estar alto posieron Archidona."</p> <p>7. The ruins of the city of Cempoalla remained in obscurity from the time of its fall and decay during the latter part of the sixteenth century, until 1883, when Herman Strebel published in Hamburg an account of the ruins, with plans of some of the structures. It does not appear that Strebel had visited the ruins at that time, but derived his information from others. In 1891, a commission under the leadership of Francisco del Paso y Troncoso made a survey of the ruins, and in 1912 a report of the results of the expedition, edited by Jesus Galindo y Villa, "Las Ruinas de Cempoala," was published in the <i>Anales del Museo Nacional de México</i>, New Series, tomo III. In 1905, Dr J. Walter Fewkes visited the region and has published an important</p>	
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	<p>study of the subject, "Certain Antiquities of Eastern Mexico," in the <i>25th Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, for 1903-04</i>, Washington, 1907. The writer spent two days at the ruins in January 1898, and made a survey and plan of one of the temples.</p> <p>8. A translation of this Inventory will be found in the writer's work, "The Goldsmith's Art in Ancient Mexico," op. cit.</p> <p>9. The copy of this rare work in the library of the writer seems to be a printer's first issue of the Letters. It lacks the first viii pages comprising the title-page and introduction, has an extra line of type to the page, and the French rendering is different in a number of cases. The paper is also larger and the sheets uncut. While the present study of these letters was in type, we obtained a copy of the regular edition, formerly in the Medicott library. In it was a folded sheet containing two columns of galley proof of an article entitled "Conquest of Mexico," being a review of the <i>Trois Lettres</i>, signed with the initials "C. H. B." No date or place of publication is given, but we have traced it to the <i>American Bibliopolist</i>, vol. 4, nos. 43 and 44, published by Joseph Sabin and Sons, New York, 1872. There can be no doubt that it was written by the well-known Mexicanist, Carl Hermann Berendt, as he was in the United States during the years 1872-73, and published a number of papers at that time. As this review is important, we reprint it <i>in extenso</i>.</p>
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<p>"CONQUEST OF MEXICO.</p> <p>" Our bibliophiles may perhaps have noticed in the Catalogue of Books, Maps, Plates on America, etc., published by Fr. Muller, Amsterdam, (See our May number, p. 252) under No. 114⁴, the description of a German manuscript, of the year 1520, containing copies of three letters, relating to the 'new found land Yucatan.' From this manuscript, Mr. Muller has issued an edition of 30 copies, printed by Enschede (Harlem), on old paper, with real old gothic characters from the 15th century, together with a version into modern German, printed with Elzevirian types, and another, modern French, printed with characters <i>de civililé</i>, both from the 16th century. A copy of this curious and beautiful plaqueette has just reached us. It is a small 8vo, with the title: <i>Trois Lettres sur la Découverte du Yucatan, et les Merveilles de ce Pays. Ecrites par des compagnons de l'expédition sous Jean de Grivalja</i> (sic) May, 1518; viii and 35 pages; on the last, unnumbered, printers escutcheon, name, year, etc. We note at once some slight mistakes on the title page. These letters do not refer to the expedition of Grijalva (not Grivalja) to Yucatan, but to Cortes, landing on the Culhuan (Mexican) coast at the actual site of the city of Vera Cruz, and the letters are not written by <i>companions</i> of either, but one by a companion of Cortes, and the two others by persons in Spain. The countries, discovered and conquered by Cortes,</p>	
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	<p>were for years called Yucatan, until the name New-Spain had been introduced and generally accepted. So was the title of the dominican friar Julian 'Garces, the first bishop appointed for Mexico, until the year 1526, 'Bishop of Yucatan.' It seems to be in consequence of a similar mistake that we find Hernando de Grijalva's expedition to the Northwest, which sailed from the <i>Yucatan port</i>, called the 'Bay of Santiago de Buena Esperanza,' (either the port <i>Huatulco</i> or <i>La Ventosa</i>, in the State of Oaxaca), recorded in a monograph of works on Central America.</p> <p>" The first letter, written by one of the companions of Cortes, is given in extract only, and that seems to have been translated from the Spanish. It bears the date '<i>New Sevilla</i>,' (the name given by the Spaniards to the Totonaco-town Cempoallan) <i>in the port 'die Archidoma</i>,' on the 28th of June, 1519. This was about a week before the appointment of the municipality of the 'Villa Rica de la Vera Cruz.' Cortes' first (lost) <i>Carta de Relacion</i>, and the letter of the new <i>Ayuntamiento</i>, were written on the 6th of July, and Francisco de Montejo, who was sent to Spain with them and with the first presents received from Montezuma, must have taken with him among the letters, 'written by officers and soldiers,' this one to the mother country. He sailed the 20th of July, and arrived in San Lucar in October of</p>
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<p>the same year. The other two letters, dated Sevilla (52 miles from San Lucar), on the 7th of November (no year is given, but evidently the same year, 1519), give reports of the arrival of the news and treasure from the new discovered countries to some parties in Burgos. The translator of the original into modern German and French, seems not to have been sufficiently versed either in the history of Cortes' expedition, or in the ancient German language. Interposing a fancied punctuation, he turns the expedition, <i>sent by Velasquez, Governor in Cuba</i>, into one <i>sent by Governor Velasquez to Cuba</i>. He ought to have guessed that the <i>tingrishaut</i> which gave him much trouble, as indicated by an interrogation within brackets, might be read <i>tiegrishaut</i> (tiger-fell), the German written <i>e</i>, being very similar to the <i>n</i>.</p> <p>" There are some discrepancies in the report, of which one at least is not easily explained. The writer mentions repeatedly that the expedition consisted of three ships, while we know that their number was eleven, a fact which scarcely could be ignored by a member of the expedition. It is also here asserted that the news were to be sent to Velasquez, and that the writer had been destined to go with the bearer, while it is known that Montejo had strict orders <i>not</i> to land in Cuba, but to proceed directly to Spain. But it seems by no means impossible that such rumor had been spread purposely, in order to deceive</p>	
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	<p>the friends of Velasquez among the expeditionists, and that the writer was not aware of Montejo's real instructions. The description of the presents, to be forwarded to Spain, enters into some details which we do not remember to have seen given by the contemporaneous writers. The evident exaggeration is fully in accordance with the boasting character of a Spanish adventurer and conqueror. Discrepancies in the two other letters are of less weight; so the item that Montejo brought 50 Indians with him (in a ship of 70 to 80 tons); the weight of the <i>gold-wheel</i> given at 30,000 Castellanos (300 Spanish pounds, while it weighed only 20). They do not affect the credibility so much, as the writers gave their information, probably, on hear-say.</p> <p>"Altogether, we consider this print not only of value as a typographical curiosity, but also of some historical importance; not to speak of the high estimation it will meet for existing in a number of thirty copies. C[arl]. H[ermann]. B[erendt]."</p> <p>10. The letters of Cortés to the King were printed soon after their receipt in Spain. As has been already stated, the <i>first letter</i> sent from the coast has not been found; the <i>second letter</i> was written from a newly founded town, not far from the present city of Puebla, named Seguara de la Frontera; it is dated October 30, 1520, and was printed by Juan Cromberger in Seville, November 8, 1522. The <i>third letter</i> was written in Coyoacán,</p>
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near the City of Mexico, on May 15, 1522. It was also printed by Cromberger in Seville, March 30, 1523. The *fourth letter* was written in Tencochtitlan (now the City of Mexico), October 15, 1524, and was printed in Toledo, October 20, 1525. We use the translation of Francis A. MacNutt, "The Letters of Cortés to Charles V," two volumes, New York, 1908.

11. The first issue of the work of Bernal Diaz was in 1632. We use the edition of the Hakluyt Society, op. cit.

12. The short but valuable account of the Anonymous Conqueror appeared in Italian in the Collection of Ramusio in 1556. A translation into French was published by Ternaux-Compans in tome x of his "Recueil de Pièces relatives à la Conquête du Mexique," of *Voyages, Relations et Mémoires Originaux pour servir à l'Histoire de la Découverte de l'Amérique*, Paris, 1837-41. A translation into Spanish was published by Joaquin Garcia Icazbalceta, in *Colección de Documentos para la Historia de México*, tomo 1, Mexico, 1858. The writer has made an English translation which appears as vol. 1 of *Documents and Narratives Concerning the Discovery and Conquest of Latin America*, published by the Cortes Society in 1917.

13. The important account of the conquest of Mexico by Captain Andres de Tapia was published for the first time by Icazbalceta in his *Col. de Doc. para la Hist. de Méx.*, tomo 11, Mexico,

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	<p>1866. An English translation has been made by Randolph M. Saville and will appear as vol. v of the Publications of the Cortes Society.</p> <p>14. The account of Francisco de Aguilar was not written until the author was an old man, and then at the importunities of some of his fellow priests. It was sent to the Archbishop of Mexico in 1579. Diego Duran obtained much information from Aguilar when writing his <i>Historia de las Indias de Nueva España</i>, and placed more weight on his testimony than that of the Indians and their paintings from whom he derived the greater part of the material for his history. He writes of him, "fray Francisco de Aguilar persona muy venerable y de mucha autoridad en la órden del padre glorioso Santo Domingo." (<i>Hist. de las Ind. de N. E.</i>, t. 2, cap. lxxx, p. 82, Mexico, 1880.) What may be an account of this epoch was exhibited at the Columbian Historical Exposition at Madrid in 1892. It is a letter of Francisco de Montejo describing the country in the vicinity of Vera Cruz, and is from the Archives of the Indies in Seville. We do not know that it has been published.</p> <p>15. See <i>Colección de Documentos Inéditos para la Historia de España</i>, published by Navarrete, tomo i, Madrid, 1842.</p> <p>16. "Primeras Noticias de Yucatan," by Cesa-reo Fernández Duro, in <i>Boletín de la Sociedad Geográfica de Madrid</i>, tomo xix, Segundo Semestre de 1880, pp. 336-342, Madrid, 1885.</p>
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<p>17. Introduction, pp. xxxv-xxxviii.</p> <p>18. Francisco Lopez de Gomara, "Conquista de Mexico, Segunda Parte de la Crónica de las Indias," edition of Vedia, "Historiadores Primitivos de Indias," reprinted by Rivadeneyra in <i>Biblioteca de Autores Españoles</i>, tomo, I, pp. 298-299, Madrid, 1852.</p> <p>19. G. F. de Oviedo y Valdés, "Historia General y Natural de la Indias," edition of the Real Academia de la Historia, tomo I, primera parte, lib. xvii, caps. viii-xviii, pp. 502-537, Madrid, 1851. These chapters have been translated into English and will be printed by the Cortes Society in the volume devoted to the expedition of Grijalva in 1518.</p> <p>20. Peter Martyr, edition of Francis A. MacNutt, vol. II, Fifth Decade, p. 106, New York, 1912. This is an English translation from the Latin of "De Orbe Novo."</p> <p>21. Bartolomeo de Las Casas, "Historia de las Indias," edition of Fuensanta del Valle and Rayon, published in five volumes in <i>Colección de Documentos Inéditos para la Historia de España</i>, tomo IV, p. 486, Madrid, 1876.</p> <p>22. Las Casas, op. cit., vol. IV, p. 436.</p> <p>23. Gomara, op. cit., p. 313.</p> <p>24. Peter Martyr, "De Nuper Sub D. Carolo Repertis Insulis, simulat q'incolarum moribus R. Petri Martyris, Enchiridion Dominae Margaritae, Diui, Max. Caes. Filiae Dictatum," Basiliae, 1521.</p>	
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	<p>25. See Note 2.</p> <p>26. In these early days of the discovery of Mexico, the name Yucatan was applied indiscriminately to the entire coast and lands of the Gulf of Mexico as far as Vera Cruz. The title of the first printed letter (the second letter), published early in November, 1522, contains the statement of "innumerable lands and provinces newly discovered in Yucatan, especially the very large and rich province called Culua." Culua was the name of the region in which Montezuma held sway. The information contained in this and the following letters shows conclusively that the land of the present state of Vera Cruz was described.</p> <p>27. This is inaccurate. The so-called first letter sent by the Municipality of the newly founded colony, under date of July 10, 1519, says, "Hernán Cortés sailed upon his voyage from the island of Fernandina [Cuba], having ten caravels and four hundred men of arms." In a recently discovered "memorial" sent by Martín Cortés, father of the conqueror, to the Royal Council, probably in March, 1520, in the name of his son to solicit the favor of the Court and to counteract the adverse influence of Diego Velasquez and others unfriendly to him, a brief statement is made regarding the expedition. It relates that Cortés went out from Cuba, "with <i>seven caravels of his own</i>, and <i>three</i> of the said Diego Velasquez, with four hundred men, to</p>
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<p>barter at the island and land of Coluacán and other parts." (Published by P. Mariano Cuevas, "Cartas y otros Documentos Novísimamente Descubiertos en el Archivo General de Indias en la Ciudad de Sevilla," Sevilla, 1915.) Portocarrero, one of the two proctors sent by Cortés with the loot to Spain, in a "declaration" made in the city of Coruña, dated April 29, 1520, states that he had heard "that of the ten ships that went out in the fleet, <i>three</i> were those of Diego Velasquez, and the <i>seven</i> belonged to Cortés and his friends." (<i>Doc. Inéd. para la Hist. de España</i>, t. 1, p. 491, Madrid, 1842.) Oviedo y Valdés (op. cit., t. 1, lib. xvii, cap. xix, pp. 539-540) writes that Cortés went to New Spain "with <i>seven</i> ships and <i>three</i> brigs which Diego Velasquez had given him." Bernal Díaz (op. cit., t. 1, cap. xxv, p. 90) asserts, "There were eleven ships in all," in which statement he is followed by Herrera. Peter Martyr mentions the three brigs, but writes that in addition there were "ten caravels with five hundred men." The statement in the German letter of the three ships sent out by Velasquez, in which the said servant sailed, corresponds to the "memorial" of Martín Cortés, and the statement of Portocarrero so far as the ships owned by the Governor are concerned. The failure to mention the seven ships furnished by the conqueror seems to be in line with the tactics of Cortés' enemies to deliberately discredit him in Spain, and it is</p>	
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	<p>highly probable that his letter sent to the King at that time, the missing first letter, was purposely suppressed and perhaps destroyed.</p> <p>28. This probably describes one of the so-called helmets or masks, of which three examples are now in the British Museum and several are in Rome and Florence. Consult Maudslay's appendix to the work of Bernal Diaz, op. cit., vol. I, pp. 299-302.</p> <p>29. The spelling here, "Archidoma," is wrong; it should be <i>Archidona</i>.</p> <p>30. This statement of fifty men remaining in Mexico is manifestly an error. The number was nearer five hundred. Bernal Diaz writes about a muster of his forces held by Cortés on the island of Cozumel, off the coast of Yucatan, and states that they "numbered five hundred and eight soldiers, not counting the shipmasters, pilots, and sailors, who numbered about one hundred." Op. cit., vol. I, p. 92.</p> <p>31. This refers to the building of the first settlement made by the Spaniards in New Spain, the town of Villa Rica de la Vera Cruz. Later the town was removed to the south, halfway to the place where they first landed, near the village called Antigua on the present line of the Inter-oceanic Railroad. It was again later removed to the southeast to the present site, opposite the island of San Juan de Ulua, the place of the landfall on the coast, now the port of Vera Cruz.</p> <p>32. The statement that fifty Indians were</p>
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<p>brought to Spain at this time is an error. Six Indians were sent to show the King the kind of people found in the new country.</p> <p>33: At the time of the voyage of Grijalva the Spaniards heard rumors of some white men living in Yucatan. Cortés was charged to make a search for them, and bring them to Cuba. On this voyage they learned that two were living. One, Gonzalo Guerrero, refused to leave his new home, for he had taken a wife, had children, and occupied a position of importance among the natives. The other, Gerónimo de Aguilar, was found. He joined the expedition and became a valued assistant to Cortés. Having acquired the Maya language, he was able to act as interpreter. Later, when the Indian girl Marina was taken, the chain was complete, for she not only understood the Maya language, but the Mexican or Nahuatl, which was her mother tongue.</p> <p>34. This probably refers to the town of Villa Rica de la Vera Cruz.</p> <p>35. This statement seems to be inaccurate, for the Spaniards probably went on foot to this town. It is possible, however, that a few went on a first trip up river in a canoe.</p> <p>36. The Totonacan town of Cempoalla is here referred to.</p> <p>37. This assertion of a town only four miles from the port (Archidona) being larger than New Seville, or Cempoalla, is inaccurate.</p>	
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	<p>38. Here again the statement of a larger town than New Seville (which is said to have had 14,000 inhabitants), and having 1000 inhabitants, shows confusion and haste in preparing the letter.</p> <p>39. The statement that the figure in the center of the large gold disc represented a squatting woman is interesting. Peter Martyr writes that the figure resembled a king seated on his throne. These are the only statements regarding the character of the central figure of this wonderful piece, which undoubtedly represented in its entirety the Mexican calendar wheel.</p> <p>40. The word <i>Dercemj</i> (Der <i>cemj</i>) is a corruption of the Antillean word <i>zemi</i> or <i>zeme</i>, the name for an idol.</p> <p>41. In the Spanish letter the number is given as 200, which is probably correct.</p> <p>42. Peter Martyr is the only other contemporary writer who compares this great gold disc to a millstone.</p> <p>43. According to Fernández Duro, the Archbishop of Granada at this time, who was President of the Council of the Indies, was Don Antonio de Rojas.</p> <p>44. This statement is very obscure. We have translated literally the text as it appears in the original Spanish.</p>
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INDIAN NOTES AND MONOGRAPHS

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VOL. IX



No. 2

A SERIES OF PUBLICA-
TIONS RELATING TO THE
AMERICAN ABORIGINES

BIBLIOGRAPHIC NOTES ON
UXMAL, YUCATAN

BY
MARSHALL H. SAVILLE

NEW YORK
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**BIBLIOGRAPHIC NOTES
ON UXMAL, YUCATAN**

BY

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INTRODUCTION



UXMAL is one of the two most important ruined cities of the Maya in Yucatan, and in some respects surpasses the other city, Chichen Itza, in the grandeur of its edifices. Certainly the House of the Governor, still in a fair state of preservation, is the most impressive building in Central America. The group of more or less ruined structures must have impressed the chroniclers, although none of them, with a single exception, have described in detail any of the buildings. It remained for an American explorer, John Lloyd Stephens, by his ac-

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	<p>count of the ruins, accompanied by the splendid drawings of his companion, Frederick Catherwood, an Englishman, to call attention to the wonders of Uxmal, as well as of many other ruins in Yucatan.</p> <p>Désiré Charnay, a Frenchman, visited Yucatan in 1857 and again in 1860, making superb photographs of a number of the Uxmal edifices, which were issued in an atlas in 1863. During the late seventies the Le Plongeon spent considerable time at the ruins, and Dr Le Plongeon made many photographs, some of which have been reproduced in numerous short articles of little scientific value. In 1888, Mr Henry M. Sweet, a member of the Thompson expedition sent out by the Peabody Museum, Harvard University, secured a number of views, the collection being augmented later by those taken by Mr Edward H. Thompson. During his many years' residence in Yucatan, Teobert Maler visited the ruins repeatedly and made many beautiful photographs of the site, including views of parts of the ruins but little visited. In</p>
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<p>1910, Mr Jesse L. Nusbaum made about sixty photographs for the Archæological Institute of America.</p> <p>During their residence in Uxmal, the Le Plongeurs made molds of parts of façades of some of the temples, and Charnay on his later expedition, during the years 1880-1882, molded sections of some of the same structures. In 1892, Mr Thompson made molds of sections of the House of the Governor and of the Nunnery Group, which were reproduced as part of the exhibit of the Department of Anthropology under the direction of Prof. F. W. Putnam at the Worlds Columbian Exposition in Chicago. These are no longer in existence, but the molds should have been preserved in Chicago, as they were the most complete representations of Mayan buildings thus far produced.</p> <p>In excavation, no work has been done except the desultory digging of the Le Plongeurs, and the exploration of a mound back of the hacienda building by the writer. The site requires careful</p>	
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	<p>exploration, and much restoration work is necessary to strengthen weak walls, especially to replace the wooden lintels which have fallen in practically all of the buildings, the loss of which will ultimately prove fatal to the security of the walls. As yet no complete plan has been made of this important site, and a systematic exploration will doubtless lead to the discovery of much hieroglyphic material, to throw needed light on the history of one of the greatest of ancient Mayan cities.</p> <p>Regarding the origin of Uxmal, there is a little folklore, which follows.</p> <p>According to Bancroft, "the reign of the Tutul Xius at Uxmal was doubtless the most glorious period of Maya history, but in addition to what has been said, we have respecting it only a single tradition which seems to refer to the last king and the overthrow of the dynasty." Bancroft gives a paraphrase of this tradition, which was published in the <i>Registro Yucateco</i> (tomo II, pp. 261-272, Merida, 1845). It is written in the form of a</p>
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<p>dialogue between a visitor to the ruins and a native of more than ordinary intelligence who professed to be well acquainted with the historical traditions of his race. The article is dated May 25, 1845, and is simply signed by the pseudonym "Un Curioso." Bancroft's abridgment is—</p> <p>"An old sorceress lived at Kabah, rarely leaving her chimney [<i>sic</i>] corner. Her grandson, a dwarf, by making a hole in her water-jar, kept her a long time at the well one day, and by removing the hearth-stone found the treasure she had so carefully guarded, a silver <i>tunkul</i> and <i>zoot</i>, native instruments. The music produced by the dwarf was heard in all the cities, and the king of Uxmal trembled, for an old prophecy declared that when such music should be heard the monarch must give up his throne to the musician. A peculiar duel was agreed upon between the two, each to have four baskets of <i>cocoyoles</i>, or palm-nuts, broken on his head. The dwarf was victorious, and took the dead king's place, having the Casa del Adivino built for his palace, and the Casa de la Vieja for his grandmother. The old sorceress soon died, and the new king, freed from all restraint, plunged into all manner of wickedness, until his gods, or idols, abandoned him in anger. But after several attempts the dwarf made a new</p>	
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	<p>god of clay which came to life and was worshipped by the people, who by this worship of an evil spirit soon brought upon themselves destruction at the hands of the outraged deities, and Uxmal was abandoned."</p> <p>The story of the Casa del Adivino, also called Casa del Enano, as related to Stephens by an old Indian, differs somewhat from that given in the <i>Registro Yucateco</i>. It follows:</p> <p>"There was an old woman who lived in a hut on the very spot now occupied by the structure on which this building is perched, and opposite the Casa del Gobernador, who went mourning that she had no children. In her distress she one day took an egg, covered it with a cloth, and laid it away carefully in one corner of the hut. Every day she went to look at it, until one morning she found the egg hatched, and a <i>criatura</i>, or creature, or baby, born. The old woman was delighted, and called it her son, provided it with a nurse, took good care of it, so that in one year it walked and talked like a man; and then it stopped growing. The old woman was more delighted than ever, and said he would be a great lord or king. One day she told him to go to the house of the gobernador and challenge him to a trial of strength. The dwarf tried to beg off, but the old woman insisted, and he went. The</p>
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<p>guard admitted him, and he flung his challenge at the gobernador. The latter smiled, and told him to lift a stone of three arrobas, or seventy-five pounds, at which the little fellow cried and returned to his mother, who sent him back to say that if the gobernador lifted it first, he would afterward. The gobernador lifted it, and the dwarf immediately did the same. The gobernador then tried him with other feats of strength, and the dwarf regularly did whatever was done by the gobernador. At length, indignant at being matched by a dwarf, the gobernador told him that, unless he made a house in one night higher than any in the place, he would kill him. The poor dwarf again returned crying to his mother, who bade him not to be disheartened, and the next morning he awoke and found himself in this lofty building. The gobernador, seeing it from the door of his palace, was astonished, and sent for the dwarf, and told him to collect two bundles of <i>cogoiol</i>, a wood of a very hard species, with one of which he, the gobernador, would beat the dwarf over the head, and afterward the dwarf should beat him with the other. The dwarf again returned crying to his mother; but the latter told him not to be afraid, and put on the crown of his head a <i>tortillita de trigo</i>, a small thin cake of wheat flour. The trial was made in the presence of all the great men of the city. The gobernador broke the whole of his bundle over the dwarf's head without hurting the little</p>	
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	<p data-bbox="305 271 916 813">fellow in the least. He then tried to avoid the trial on his own head, but he had given his word in the presence of his officers, and was obliged to submit. The second blow of the dwarf broke his skull in pieces, and all the spectators hailed the victor as their new gobernador. The old woman then died; but at the Indian village of Mani, seventeen leagues distant, there is a deep well, from which opens a cave that leads underground an immense distance to Merida. In this cave, on the bank of a stream, under the shade of a large tree, sits an old woman with a serpent by her side, who sells water in small quantities, not for money, but only for a <i>criatura</i> or baby to give the serpent to eat; and this old woman is the mother of the dwarf."—<i>Incidents of Travel in Central America</i>, vol. II, pp. 423-425.</p> <p data-bbox="580 845 647 885">1556</p> <p data-bbox="310 885 492 917">[DOCUMENT]</p> <p data-bbox="362 925 922 1276">In 1842 John Lloyd Stephens visited Mani in search of historical material relating to the ruins of Uxmal. He was shown a "large volume which had an ancient and venerable appearance, being bound in parchment, tattered, and worm-eaten, and having a flap to close like that of a pocket-book. Unhappily it was written in the Maya language, and perfectly unintelligible. The dates, however, showed that these venerable pages were a record of events which had taken</p>
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<p>place within a few years after the entry of the Spaniards." Stephens had accurate translations made by Don Pio Perez and Father Carillo of the documents which related to Uxmal. The earliest was dated August 10, 1556, and is as follows:</p> <p>"On the tenth of August, in the year one thousand five hundred and fifty-six, the special judge arrived with his interpreter, Gaspar Antonio, from VXMAL, when they reached this chief village of Mani, with the other caciques that followed them, Don Francisco Che, governor of Ticul, Don Francisco Pacab, governor of Tekax, Don Alonzo Pacab, governor of Jan, Don Juan Che, governor of Mama, Don Alonzo Xiu, governor of Tekit, with the other governors of his suite, Don Juan Cacom, governor of Tekoh, with Don Gaspar Fun, Don Juan Camal, governor of Nunhini, Don Francisco Ciz, other governor of Cosuma, Don Juan Cocom, governor of Zotuta, Don Gonzalo Fuyú, governor of Tixcaltuyú, Don Juan Han, governor of Yaxcaba; those were brought to this chief village of Mani from VXMAL, with the others named, and the judge Felipe Manrique, with Gaspar Antonio, commissioned interpreter."</p> <p>The rest of the document is omitted by Stephens. See <i>Incidents of Travel in Yucatan</i>, vol. II, p. 268.</p>	
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	<p data-bbox="567 296 632 323" style="text-align: center;">1557</p> <p data-bbox="301 331 477 359">[DOCUMENT]</p> <p data-bbox="355 376 902 432">Another document found in the volume referred to bears the date 1557. It reads:</p> <p data-bbox="355 440 902 560"><i>"Memorandum of having divided the lands by D. Francisco Montejo Xiu, governor of this pueblo of Mani, and the governors of the pueblo who are under him.</i></p> <p data-bbox="355 568 902 1286">"There met together Don Francisco Montejo Xiu, governor of this pueblo, and of the jurisdiction of Tutul Xiu; Don Francisco Che, governor of Ticul, Don Francisco Pacab, governor of Oxcutzacab, Don Diego Vs, governor of Tekax, Don Alonzo Pacab, governor of Jan-monah, Don Juan Che, governor of Mama, Don Alonzo Xiu, governor of Tekit, and the other governors within the jurisdiction of Mani, together with the regidores, for the purpose of regulating the landmarks, and maintaining the right of each village respecting the felling of trees, and to fix and settle with crosses the boundaries of the milpas of their respective villages, dividing them into parts according to their situation, showing the lands pertaining to each. The people of Canul, those of Acanceh, of Ticoh, those of Cosuma, those of Zotuta and its jurisdiction, those of Tixcacab, a part of those of Peto, Colotmul, and Zuccacab, after having conferred together, declared it necessary to cite</p>
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<p>the governors of the villages, and we answered that they should come to this audiencia of Mani, each one bringing with him two regidores to be present at the division of the lands Don Juan Canul, governor of Nunkini, and Francisco Ci, his colleague; D. Juan Cocom, governor of Ticoh, D. Gaspar Tun of Cosuma, Don Juan Cocom, governor of Sotuta, D. Gonzalo Tuyn, governor of Tixcacab, D. Juan Han of Yaxcacab; these received the donation on the fifth day from Merida, consisting of one hundred paties of fine sheets, each pati or cotton cloth, and thus they continued receiving by twenties for a beginning, being rolled up by Juan Nic, Pedro May, and Pedro Coba, assembled in the house of Don Francisco Montejo Xiu, governor of the village of Mani; three arrobas of wax, which were sold by them, Don Juan Cocom of Zotuta having first received them. In Talchaquillo, on the road to Merida, toward the north of said village, the cross was planted, and called Hoal. In Sacmuyalna they put a cross; this is the limit of the lands of those of Ticoh. In Kochilha a cross was placed. In Cisinil, Toyotha, Chulul Ytza, Ocansip, and Tiphall, crosses were placed; this is the boundary of the milpas and the lands of those of Maxcanú-al Canules. In Kaxabceh Chacnocac, Calam, Sactos, are the limits of</p>	
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	<p>the fields of the Canules, and there crosses were placed. In Zemesahal and in Opal were planted crosses: these are the limits of the grounds of the villagers of Kilhini and Becal. In Yaxche, Sucilha Xcalchen, Tehico Sahcabchen Xbacal, Opichen, crosses were planted. Twenty-two is the number of the places marked, and they returned to raise new landmarks, by the command of the judge, Felipe Manriques, specially commissioned by his excellency the governor, when he arrived at UXMAL, accompanied by his interpreter, Gaspar Antonio," etc.</p> <p>Stephens omitted the rest of the document. See <i>Incidents of Travel in Yucatan</i>, vol. II, pp. 266-267.</p> <p>[INDIAN MAP OF MANI.]</p> <p>In the same volume as the above. "The original is a sheet of foolscap paper dated 1557, containing a map with Mani in the center. Uxmal appears near the bottom, and in place of the conventional church used to indicate the other places on the map, a building with three doorways and a façade, a typical Maya building, is shown with the name 'Uxmal' below." Reproduced by Stephens, <i>ibid.</i>, vol. II, opposite p. 264</p>
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<p style="text-align: center;">1581</p> <p>BOTE, JUAN. Relación de Teav-Y-Tec y Tiscolum. <i>Colección de Documentos Inéditos Relativos al Descubrimiento, Conquista y Organización de las Antiguas Posesiones Españoles de Ultramar</i>, Segunda Serie, t. XI, Relaciones de Yucatan, I, Relacion XXIV, p. 287, Madrid, 1894.</p> <p>This is a report made in 1581. Section XIII reads: "At one time all of this land was under the dominion of a lord, and although with the change and succession of time, which have been many, the last lord of them was a Tutulxiu, from whom descended the native lords of the said town of Mani of the Royal crown, and this [one] subject to all the lords of the land more by craft than by war, they say that the first of them [was] called Hunuilkilchic, lord of Uxmal, a very ancient settlement, very remarkable in edifices usual in Mexico, and from there he entered into all the other provinces and from his greatness and personality it is said that he was very learned in native things and in his time taught them to till the lands. He divided the months of the year, and he taught them the letters</p>	
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	<p>[hieroglyphic writing] which were used in the said province of Mani when the conquerors entered the land, and little by little the said Tutulxius came to command all the lands very much to the liking of the natives."</p> <p style="text-align: center;">1588</p> <p>CIUDAD REAL, <i>Fr.</i> ANTONIO. Relacion breve y verdadera de algunas cosas de las muchas que sucedieron al Padre Fray Alonso Ponce en las provincias de la Nueva España, siendo Comisario General de aquellas partes. Trátanse algunas particularidades de aquella tierra, y dícese su ida á ella y vuelta á España, con algo de lo que en el viaje le aconteció hasta volver á su Provincia de Castilla. Escrita por dos Religiosos, sus compañeros, el uno de los cuales le acompañó desde España á Mexico, y el otro en todos los demas caminos que hizo y trabajos que pasó. Ahora por primera vez impresa. Tomo II, pp. 455-461. <i>Colección de Documentos Inéditos para la Historia de España</i>, t. LVIII, Madrid, 1875.</p>
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<p>Father Alonso Ponce came to America in 1584 as Commissary General. His visit to Uxmal was made just before he left Yucatan to return to Spain. On his travels he was accompanied by two priests, said to have written the above report as indicated in the title. These two priests were Fray Alonso de San Juan, who accompanied him from Spain, and Fray Antonio de Ciudad Real, who joined him in Mexico and was with him in all his travels. Fr Ciudad Real unquestionably wrote the account of their travels in Yucatan, and he is one of the great figures in the literary and ecclesiastical history of Yucatan, but his numerous works have not been published. His great work on the Mayan language was called "Calepino de la Lengua Maya ó Yucateca," on which he was engaged for forty years. The work of this priest is described by both Fr Bernardo de Lizana, who knew him, and Fr Cogolludo. According to Lizana he wrote, while acting as general secretary of the Commissary General, a "Tratado curioso y docto de las grandezas de la Nueva España." This may well be the work, recently published, containing the account of the ruins of Uxmal.</p> <p>The report states that, "On Tuesday, the thirteenth of October, the Father Commissary left Calkini at two o'clock in the morning, and leaving the road which leads</p>	
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	<p>to Merida, he took [the road] for Mani and Oxtutzcab, and traveling six leagues of good road, arrived early at some ranchos or houses of thatch, which the Indians of the district of Mani with their keeper had made near some ancient edifices, very renowned in that land, which were called Uxmal." The description of the buildings of Uxmal contained in this record of the travels of Ponce is one of the few sixteenth-century accounts of Mayan cities that have come down to us, and it is by far the most important and extensive. We reprint the translation published by Spinden in his <i>Study of Maya Art</i>.</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><i>"Of the very renowned edifices of Uxmal.</i></p> <p>"On the north of the ranchos where the father delegate was lodged, as has been seen, which is about twenty leagues from Merida, to the south of that city, stands a <i>ku</i> or <i>mul</i>, very tall and made by hand. It is very difficult to ascend this by its one hundred and fifty stone steps, which are very steep and which, from their being very old, are very dilapidated. On the top of this <i>mul</i> a large building has been built, consisting of two vaulted rooms, made of stone and lime, the stones being carved with great care on the outside. In old times they took the Indians who were to be sacrificed to these rooms, and there they killed them and offered them to the idols. The father delegate went up</p>
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<p>this <i>mul</i> as soon as he arrived there, and this surprised the others greatly, since many others did not dare to go up and could not have done so if they had tried. Close to this <i>mul</i> and behind it on the west, there are lower down many other buildings built in the same way with stone and lime and with arches. The stones are carved with wonderful delicacy, some of them having fallen and others badly injured and ruined, while others can still be seen, and there is much in them worth examining. Among these there are four very large and handsome buildings set in a square form, and in the middle is a square plaza, in which grew a thicket of large and small trees, and even on top of the building there were very large and dense trees growing. The building which faces the south, has on the outside four rooms, and on the inside eight others, all arched with cut stone, and as carefully joined and put together as if very skilful workers of the present had built them. These arches, and all the other old arches which have been found in the province, are not rounded over in the form of a cupola nor like those which are made in Spain, but are tapered as the funnels of chimneys are made when built in the middle of a room, before the flue begins, since both sides draw together little by little and the space between becomes more narrow,</p>	
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	<p>till on the top one wall is separated from the other by about two feet and there they place a layer, which extends inwards four or five inches on each side, and over this they place flags or thin flat stones in a level position, and with these the arch is closed, so that there is no key to the arch, but with the great weight of stone and mortar, which is placed on top and which strengthens the sides, the arch is closed and remains fixed and strong. The ends of this arched building are continuous and straight from top to bottom. At the door of each of the rooms of this building on the inside, there are four rings of stone, two on one side and two on the other,—two of them being high up and two lower down and all coming out of the same wall. The Indians say that from these rings those who lived in these buildings hung curtains and portières, and it was to be noticed that no one of these rooms, nor of all the others, which we found there, had any window, small or large. The rooms were therefore rather dark, especially when they were made double, one behind the other, so that even in this, this idolatrous race gave evidence of the darkness and obscurity of the error in which it was enshrouded. The high lintels of all these doors were made of the wood of the chico zapote, which is very strong and slow to decay, as</p>
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<p>could well be seen, since most of them were whole and sound, although they had been in position from time immemorial, according to the statements of the old Indians. The door jambs were of stone carved with great delicacy. On the façades of the building, both on those which face the plaza or courtyard, as well as on those which face outward, there are many figures of serpents, idols and shields, many screens or latticework, and many other carvings which are very beautiful and fine, especially if one look at them from a distance like a painting of Flanders, and they are all carved from the same kind of stone. In the middle of this building a great arch is made, so that it takes in all the depth of the building, and therefore it is the entrance to the courtyard or the above-mentioned plaza. It would appear that this entrance had been plastered and that on the plaster paintings had been made in blue, red and yellow color, since even now some of them remain and can be seen. Nearly all the rest of the stones had been plastered but not painted.</p> <p>"The building which stands at the west, behind the previously mentioned mound of sacrifices, was in the best condition and uninjured. It had four doors which opened on to the courtyard or plaza with as many rooms, arched in the same way as the others</p>	
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	<p>and beyond each room was another, so that there were eight in all. Between these four doors, two on one side and two on the other, there was still another door which opened on the patio, and within this was a very large hall, long and broad, with two small rooms on the sides; and beyond this hall there was another—a little smaller, with two other small rooms—one on each side, so that inside of this one door there were six rooms, four small and two large, making, with the other eight, fourteen rooms which this building contained. On the inside façades and ends of this building, there were carved many serpents in stone, and heads of savages and other figures in the manner of shields, and at the four corners (since each building stood by itself and not joined or connected with the other) there were many other carvings cut in the round like a half curve, with tips, which looked like serpent heads, and which stood at half a vara from the rest of the carvings.</p> <p>“The building on the north is the tallest, and has more carvings and figures of idols, serpents and shields and other very beautiful things about it, but it is very much injured and the most of it has fallen. It has ten doors which open on the plaza and another which opens on the eastern end, and inside each one there are two rooms, and so among them</p>
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<p>all there are twenty-two rooms in that building made of stone and lime, and arched like the others, but the most of them, especially those inside, have fallen. Before the ten doors above mentioned there has been made a terrace, <i>paseo</i>, or walking-place, somewhat broad and open on all sides, to which one ascends from the plaza by steps which are now half in ruins. All this terrace has below it other arched rooms with doors opening on the same plaza, and these are covered and stopped up with stones and earth and with large trees which have grown there.</p> <p>"The building on the west is very elegant and beautiful on the outside façade, which looks on the plaza, since serpents made of stone extend over the whole of it so as to enclose it from end to end, making many turns and knots, and they finally end with the head of one of them, on one end of the building, joined with the tail of the other, and the same thing happens on the other end of the building. There are also many figures of men and idols, other figures of monkeys, and of skulls and different kinds of shields—all carved in stone. There are also over the doors of the rooms some statues of stone with maces or sticks in their hands, as if they were mace-bearers, and there are bodies of naked Indians with their <i>masteles</i> (which are the old-fashioned loin-clothes of</p>	
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	<p>all New Spain, like breeches), by which it is shown that these buildings were built by Indians. In this building are seven doors, of which six open on the patio and the seventh on the end which faces the north, and inside of each door are two rooms, so that there are fourteen rooms in all, arched like the others.</p> <p>“Besides these four buildings, there is on the south of them distant from them about an arquebus shot, another very large building built on a <i>mul</i> or hill made by hand, with abundance of buttresses on the corners, made of massive carved stones. The ascent of this <i>mul</i> is made with difficulty, since the staircase by which the ascent is made is now almost destroyed. The building, which is raised on this <i>mul</i>, is of extraordinary sumptuousness and grandeur, and, like the others, very fine and beautiful. It has on its front, which faces the east, many figures and bodies of men and of shields and of forms like the eagles which are found on the arms of the Mexicans, as well as of certain characters and letters which the Maya Indians used in old times—all carved with so great dexterity as surely to excite admiration. The other façade, which faces the west, showed the same carving, although more than half the carved part had fallen. The ends stood firm and whole with their</p>
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<p>four corners much carved in the round, like those of the other building below. There are in this building fifteen doors, of which eleven face the east, two the west and one each face the north and south, and within these doors there are twenty-four rooms arched like the others. Two of these rooms are in the northern end, and two others in the southern end, while two are in the west front, and all the rest in the eastern front—all made with special accuracy and skill.</p> <p>“The Indians do not know surely who built these buildings nor when they were built, though some of them did their best in trying to explain the matter, but in doing so showed foolish fancies and dreams, and nothing fitted into the facts or was satisfactory. The truth is that today the place is called Uxmal, and an intelligent old Indian declared to the father delegate that, according to what the ancients had said, it was known that it was more than nine hundred years since the buildings were built. Very beautiful and strong they must have been in their time, and it is well known from this that many people worked to build them, as it is clear that the buildings were occupied, and that all about them was a great population, since this is now evident from the ruins and remains of many other buildings, which are seen from afar; but the father</p>	
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78	UXMAL
	<p>delegate did not go to these ruins, since the thicket was very close and dense, and there was no opportunity to open and clear out a path so as to reach them. And now they all serve only as dwellings and nests for bats and swallows and other birds, whose droppings fill the rooms with an odor more disgusting than delightful. There is no well there, and the farmers of the vicinity carry their drinking water from some little pools of rain-water which there are in that region. It may be easily suspected that these buildings were depopulated for want of water, although others say that this is not so, but that the inhabitants departed for another country, leaving the wells which were there choked up."</p> <p style="text-align: center;">1595</p> <p>BOOKS OF CHILAM BALAM.</p> <p>In the Books of Chilam Balam, called by Brinton "The Maya Chronicles," we find mention of Uxmal. The first publication of one of these ancient records, the Book of Chilam Balam of Mani, is in Stephens' Incidents of Travel in Yucatan (vol. II, app.), the first edition of which was published in New York in 1843. A copy of the manuscript, with a translation into Spanish and with notes, was furnished Stephens by the learned Yucatecan antiquary Don Pio Perez.</p>
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The Spanish translation of the original Maya text was translated into English by Stephens, and appears opposite the Maya text (pp. 465-469). According to Brinton, who has published it in his *Maya Chronicles* (pp. 89-135), from a copy made by Dr Carl Hermann Berendt, with a new English translation, the Book of Chilam Balam of Mani was undoubtedly composed not later than 1595, as is proved by internal evidence (op. cit. p. 70). This chronicle is often called the Codex Perez. An independent translation was made by Brasseur de Bourbourg and published as an appendix to his edition of the work of Landa in 1864. A study of this manuscript was made by Dr Valentini in his *Katunes of Maya History*, in *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, 1880.

The reference to Uxmal is, "In the Katun the second ahau Ahcuitok Tutulxiu founded [the city of] Uxmal." (Brinton, *Maya Chronicles*, p. 102.)

In the Book of Chilam Balam of Tizimin the data of the foundation of Uxmal is given differently. Brinton's translation of the Maya text is, "The tenth ahau; Ahzuitok Tutulxiu founded Uxmal: ten score years had passed when they established the territory of Uxmal." (Ibid., p. 146.)

In the Book of Chilam Balam of Chumayel it is stated that, "The twelfth ahau: the

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	<p>stone of Otzmal was taken." (Brinton, op. cit., p. 171.) This work has been reproduced in facsimile, with an introduction by George Byron Gordon, in <i>Anthropological Publications of the University of Pennsylvania</i>, vol. v, Philadelphia, 1913. The reference to Otzmal may, however, be Izamal instead of Uxmal.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">1639</p> <p>SANCHEZ DE AGUILAR, PEDRO. Informe contra idolorum cultores del Obispado de Yucatan. Madrid, 1639. Segunda edición, Mexico, 1892.</p> <p>Sanchez de Aguilar speaks of "the great, famous, and astounding edifices of stone and mortar, and hewn stone, figures and statues of carved stone left in <i>Oxumal</i> [Uxmal] and Chichiniza, which may be seen today, and [the buildings] may be lived in." He further states that the Yucatecans had been vassals of the Mexicans for six hundred years before the coming of the Spaniards (Segunda edición, p. 94). Pedro Sanchez de Aguilar was a descendant of the conquistadores Hernán Sanchez de Castilla and Hernán de Aguilar, and was born in the peninsula of Yucatan in 1555. His work on the idolatries of the Indians was commenced in 1613 and completed in 1615.</p>
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<p style="text-align: center;">1673</p> <p>[TITLE DEEDS. (MS.)]</p> <p>Stephens states that he saw the title deeds, dated 1673, of the estate of Uxmal, at that time the property of Don Simon Peon. He writes:</p> <p>“They were truly a formidable pile, compared with which the papers in a protracted chancery or ejectment suit would seem a billet-doux, and, unfortunately, a great portion of them was in the Maya language; but there was one folio volume in Spanish, and in this was the first formal conveyance ever made of these lands by the Spanish government. It bears date the twelfth day of May, 1673, and is entitled a testimonial of royal favor made to the Regidor Don Lorenzo de Evia, of four leagues of land (<i>desde los edificios de Uxmal</i>) from the buildings of Uxmal to the south, one to the east, another to the west, and another to the north, for his distinguished merits and services therein expressed. The preamble sets forth that the Regidor Don Lorenzo de Evia, by a writing that he presented to his majesty, made a narrative showing that at sixteen leagues from Merida, and three from the sierra of Ticul, were certain meadows and places named <i>Uxmaltchecaxek</i>, Tzemchan - Cemin - Curea - Kusultzac, Exmuue-</p>	
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	<p>Hixmon-nec, uncultivated and belonging to the crown, which the Indians could not profit by for tillage and sowing, and which could only serve for horned cattle; that the said regidor had a wife and children whom it was necessary for him to maintain for the service of the king in a manner conforming to his office, and that he wished to stock the said places and meadows with horned cattle, and praying a grant of them for that purpose in the name of his majesty, since no injury could result to any third person, but, 'on the contrary, very great service to God our Lord, because with that establishment it would prevent the Indians in those places from worshipping the devil in the ancient buildings which are there, having in them their idols, to which they burn copal, and performing other detestable sacrifices, as they are doing every day notoriously and publicly.'—Stephens, <i>Incidents of Travel in Yucatan</i>, vol. I, pp. 322–323.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">1687–1688</p> <p>[CLAIMS TO LAND. (MS.)]</p> <p>Stephens also was shown other later documents which he describes as follows:</p> <p>“Following this is a later instrument, dated the third of December, 1687, the preamble of which recites the petition of Captain Lorenzo de Evia, setting forth the grant above referred to, and that an Indian named</p>
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<p>Juan Can had importuned him with a claim of right to the said lands on account of his being a descendant of the ancient Indians, to whom they belonged; that the Indian had exhibited some confused papers and maps, and that, although it was not possible for him to justify the rights that he claimed, to avoid litigation, he, the said Don Lorenzo de Evia, agreed to give him seventy-four dollars for the price and value of the said land. The petition introduces the deed of consent, or quit-claim, of Juan Can, executed with all the formalities required in the case of Indians (the original of which appears among the other title papers), and prays a confirmation of his former grant, and to be put in real and corporeal possession. The instrument confirms the former grant, and prescribes the formal mode of obtaining possession.</p> <p>"Under the deed of confirmation appears the deed of livery of seisin, beginning, 'In the place called the edifices of Uxmal and its lands, the third day of the month of January, 1688,' etc., and concluding with the words: 'In virtue of the power and authority which by the same title is given to me by the said governor, complying with its terms, I took by the hand the said Lorenzo de Evia, and he walked with me all over Uxmal and its buildings, opened and shut</p>	
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	<p>some doors that had several rooms, cut within the space some trees, picked up fallen stones and threw them down, drew some water from one of the aguadas of the said place of Uxmal, and performed other acts of possession.'"—Stephens, <i>Incidents of Travel in Yucatan</i>, vol. I, pp. 323-324.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">1688</p> <p>COGOLLUDO, <i>Fr.</i> DIEGO LOPEZ DE. <i>Historia de Yucathan. Sacala a luz Franciso de Ayeta.</i> Madrid, 1688.</p> <p><i>Second edition</i>, under the title: <i>Los tres siglos de la dominacion Española en Yucatan</i>, tomo I, Campeche, 1842; tomo II, Merida, 1845.</p> <p><i>Third edition</i>, under the title: <i>Historia de Yucatan escrita en el siglo XVII por el R. P. Fr. Diego Lopez Cogolludo</i>, tomo I, Merida, 1867; tomo II, Merida, 1868.</p> <p>Uxmal is mentioned in the third edition in tomo I, libro 4, cap. ii, pp. 284-285; also in cap. vii, pp. 311-312. The first mentioned notice of Uxmal contained in Cogolludo is:</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">"In Uxmal there is a large patio with many rooms separated in the form of a</p>
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<p>cloister, where these virgins lived. It is a work worthy of admiration, because the exterior of the walls is all of worked stones, where there are brought out figures of armed men in bas-relief, a diversity of animals, birds, and other things, and it has not been made out who were the artificers, nor how they were worked in this land. All of the four fronts of the buildings of that patio (that might be called a plaza) are encircled by a snake worked in the same stone as the walls, the tail terminating under the head, and being in all its circuit four hundred feet [long].</p> <p>"At the southern part of this edifice there is another which it is said were the dwelling of the lord of the land: it is not in the form of a cloister, but is made of the stone worked with the figures mentioned in the other, and there are many smaller [houses] near there, which they say were houses of the captains and principal lords. In the one on the south side there is a wall in the interior of the building which, although it is very extensive, a little over half a man's stature in height, has on its full length a cornice of very smooth stone which makes a very fine corner, even and very perfect, where I remember there was made of the same stone and remained in it [the wall] a ring as thin and handsome as can be made of gold worked</p>	
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	<p>in the most beautiful manner: absolute proof that they were made by perfect artists. Who they were we do not know, nor have the Indians any tradition of them."</p> <p>The second mention of Uxmal by Cogolludo is:</p> <p>"They have many sumptuous temples in many parts of this Tierra Firme, of which there remain today parts of their edifices, like which are in Vxmal or Vxumual, in Chichen Ytza, They raised from the ground a terrace (or mound), the foundation of the edifice, which is of pyramidal form, on which there rise steps, although they do not terminate with this [pyramid], for on the top there is a small square on which there are situated, separated a short distance, two small chapels in which are the idols; this is the case in that of Vxumual, and there they make their sacrifices of men as well as of women and children, and of the other things. Some of these [temples] have a height of more than one hundred steps, of a little more than half a foot wide, each one. I ascended one time the one of Vxumual, and when I had to descend, I repented because, as the steps are so narrow and so many in number, and as the edifice rises almost straight up, and since the height is not slight going down, one gets dizzy and it is somewhat dangerous. I found there in one of</p>
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<p>two chapels, offerings of cacao, and marks of copal, which is their incense, burned there but a short time before, an evidence of some superstition or idolatry recently committed, although we could not find out anything about it among all of us who were there. God help those poor Indians, for the devil deceives them very easily."</p> <p style="text-align: center;">1822</p> <p>CABRERA, <i>Dr</i> PAUL FELIX. Description of the ruins of an ancient city, discovered near Palenque, in the Kingdom of Guatemala in Spanish America: translated from the original manuscript report of Captain Don Antonio Del Rio. <i>Followed by:</i> Teatro Critico Americano, a critical investigation and research into the history of the Americans by Doctor Felix Cabrera of the city of Guatemala. London.</p> <p>In the report of Antonio Del Rio (pp. 6-7) he states that he received an account of Yucatan from Rev. Father Thomas de Soza, a Franciscan friar of the convent at Merida, and the following notice regarding Uxmal appears:</p>	
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	<p>“At the distance of twenty leagues from the city of Merida southward, between the curacy called Mona y Ticul and the town of Nocacab, are the remains of some stone edifices: one very large building has withstood the ravages of time, and still exists in good preservation: the natives give it the name of OXMUTAL. It stands on an eminence of twenty yards in height, and measures two hundred yards on each façade. The apartments, the exterior corridor, the pillars with figures in medio relievo, and decorated with serpents, lizards, etc., formed in stucco, beside which are statues of men with palms in their hands in the act of beating drums and dancing, resemble in every respect those observable at Palenque.”</p> <p>This is the earliest modern printed notice regarding Uxmal which we have found. The report is dated Palenque, June 24, 1787.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">1825</p> <p>WARDEN, DAVID B. Description des ruines découvertes près de Palenque. <i>Recueil de Voyages et Mémoires publiés par la Société de Géographie</i>, Paris, tome II.</p> <p>The greater part of this article was abstracted from the work of Cabrera. The Soza notice of Uxmal is on pp. 176-177.</p>
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<p style="text-align: center;">1825</p> <p>BUCHON, J. A. Atlas géographique, statistique, historique et chronologique des deux Amériques et les îles adjacentes; traduit de l'atlas exécuté en Amérique d'après Lesage. Paris. (Folio.)</p> <p style="text-align: center;">1834</p> <p>ZAVALA, LORENZO DE. Notice sur les monuments antiques d'Ushmal, dans la province de Yucatan, fournie par M. Lorenzo de Zavala, Ambassadeur du Mexique en France. In <i>Antiquités Mexicaines, relation des trois expéditions du Capitaine Dupaix</i>, etc., Paris, Première partie, Notes et documents divers, tome I, no. VI, pp. 33-35. (Folio.)</p> <p style="text-align: center;">1838</p> <p>WALDECK, FREDERICK. Voyage pittoresque et archéologique dans la province d'Yucatan (Amérique Centrale), pendant les années 1834 et 1836. Paris. (Folio.)</p>	
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	<p>Uxmal, or "Itzalane," is treated on pp. 67-74. A plan of the ruins is given in pl. viii, and views and plans of some of the temples are in pl. ix-xvii. In pl. xvii are three stone heads from the ruins. Descriptions of these plates are on pp. 93-104. Waldeck was at Uxmal in 1835. His illustrations are beautifully drawn, but are not very accurate, notwithstanding the assertion by Bancroft (Native Races, vol. iv, Antiquities, note 2, p. 145) that they "are remarkable for their accuracy."</p> <p style="text-align: center;">1841</p> <p>FRIEDRICHSTAL, EMMANUEL DE. Les monuments de l'Yucatan. <i>Nouvelles Annales des Voyages</i>, Paris, tome quatrième, année 1841, tome 92, pp. 291-314.</p> <p>This article is a digest of the researches of Friedrichstal, written by Eyriès. Uxmal is described on pp. 306-312. In tomo II of <i>Registro Yucateco</i>, published in Merida in 1845, there is a brief mention of Uxmal in a letter written to D. Justo Sierra in Merida, treating of his travels in Yucatan. It was published also in the second and third editions of Cogolludo, and bears the date 1841.</p>
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<p>STEPHENS, JOHN LLOYD. Incidents of travel in Central America, Chiapas, and Yucatan. New York. 2 vols. The account of Uxmal appears in vol. II, pp. 410-435, 3 pl.</p> <p>This work was the first to place before the general reader, in a fascinating book of travels, the wonderful ruined cities of Central America, with splendid drawings of a number of the ruined buildings and sculptures. Stephens, accompanied by Frederick Catherwood, an English artist, left New York in October, 1839, for Central America. Catherwood writes that the "only object of our journey [was] an exploration of the ruined cities of Central America, the appointment of Mr Stephens as Special Confidential Agent from the United States, having taken place but a very short time previous to our leaving, and after all our arrangements were completed." On this trip the explorers went first to Guatemala, visiting Copan, which at that time was in Guatemala territory; thence into Salvador, Nicaragua, and Costa Rica, following the Pacific coast. Returning to Guatemala they went overland into southern Mexico, visiting the ruins of Ococingo and Palenque. Coming out by way of the Gulf of Mexico, they spent a few days in Yucatan the latter part of June, 1841. At</p>	
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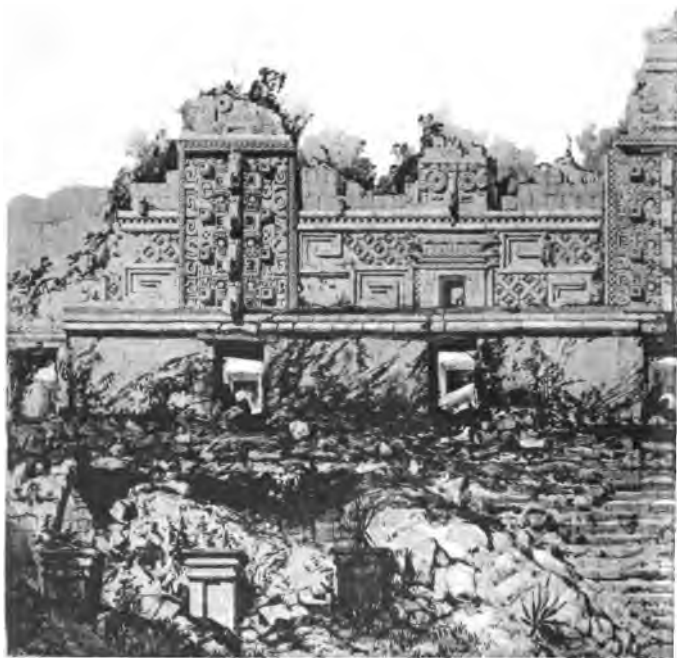
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	<p>this time it was their intention to explore Uxmal, but they were able to spend only a couple of days at the ruins, owing to the violent attack of fever which Catherwood suffered, so that they were obliged to leave the ruins and set sail immediately for the United States. They left Yucatan on June 24, in a sailing vessel, arriving in New York on July 31.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">1843</p> <p>STEPHENS, JOHN LLOYD. Incidents of travel in Yucatan. New York. 2 vols.</p> <p>Uxmal is described in vol. II, pp. 147-187, 293-328; 11 pl., 9 figs.</p> <p>This is the most extended and important account of the ruins of Uxmal, and contains historical material which we reprint under the years 1556, 1557, 1673, and 1687-1688.</p> <p>Stephens and Catherwood left New York in October, 1841, and remained in Yucatan until June, 1842. They went to Uxmal on November 15, and Catherwood remained at the ruins until January 1, 1842, Stephens meanwhile making several visits from the site to other ruins. On his first visit to Uxmal the year before, Stephens was presented by the owner of Uxmal with a sculpture from the House of the Governor, a 'death's-head with long feathers. On the second trip to Yucatan he made a consider-</p>
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<p>able collection of antiquities from various ruins, among them being several sculptured lintels, notably from the House of the Governor, described in Incidents of Travel in Central America, vol. II, pp. 432-433, and Incidents of Travel in Yucatan, vol. I, pp. 178-179. This beam, with the other lintels, "as also the whole collection of vases, figures, idols, and other relics gathered upon this journey," were destroyed in a fire in New York, where they were being exhibited in a panorama of Thebes and Carthage, painted by Catherwood. The Uxmal stone sculpture above mentioned was fortunately not in this exhibition, as Stephens writes that a collection of large sculptured stones had not been received at that time. These sculptures, as well as the death's-head, were presented by Stephens to Mr John A. Cruger, who built a small roofless stone building on a point of Cruger island in Hudson river. In the walls of this structure the sculptures, sixteen in number, were embedded. The two largest and most important were splendid slabs from the ruins of Kabah; the majority, however, were from Uxmal. They remained at this place, unknown to archeologists, for many years, when finally they were acquired by the American Museum of Natural History in 1919, and are now among the collections of that institution.</p>	
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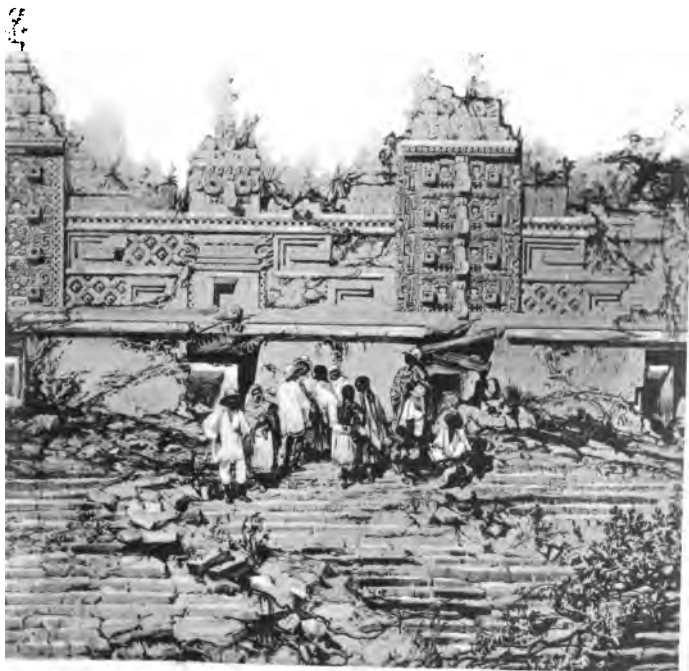
94	UXMAL
	<p>In 1895 Mrs Richard P. Dana gave to the same Museum a massive, much defaced stone death's-head from Uxmal, which was presented by Stephens to her brother-in-law, who was a fellow-passenger on the sailing vessel which brought the party from Yucatan. It formerly had a nose, but it was broken off on the voyage, the sculpture having been carelessly stored on the deck.</p> <p>When the Le Plongeurs were exploring Uxmal in the seventies, Dr Le Plongeon cut from the central façade of the House of the Governor a small, excellently carved, human head, which was a part of the central design of the front of the building. This he sold to the American Museum of Natural History, where it is now exhibited. Several years ago some natives discovered in a room formed by one of the two set-in arches of the western side of the House of the Governor, two magnificent painted stucco human heads, described by Gann (1918), which are now in the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation. (See herein under 1918.)</p> <p>The great interest aroused by the publication of Stephens' two works is shown by the number of editions in which the volumes were printed. Of the first work, <i>Incidents of Travel in Central America</i>, twelve editions were printed within a year, and with a slight change in the imprint only, it was issued in</p>
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<p>New York in 1841, 1842, 1845, 1846, 1848, 1851, 1852, 1855, 1858, 1860, 1863, and 1867, all of which reprints are titled "Twelfth edition." There are also London editions of 1841, 1842, 1843, 1844.</p> <p>The work on Yucatan was also reprinted, with slight variations in imprint, in New York in 1847, 1848, 1855, 1856, 1858, 1860, and 1868. There is also a London edition, published by John Murray in 1843.</p> <p>NORMAN, B. M. Rambles in Yucatan, or notes of travel through the peninsula, including a visit to the remarkable ruins of Chi-Chen, Kabah, Zayi, Uxmal, &c. New York.</p> <p>Norman went to Yucatan in December, 1841, and was at Uxmal from February 25 to March 4, according to his own account. He apparently "trailed" Stephens and Catherwood, taking advantage of their clearing around the ruins. He writes of Uxmal on pp. 154-167, 199. There are a plan of the ruins, five plates showing the edifices, and five text figures. The popular interest aroused at this time in the subject of the ruined cities of Yucatan is indicated by the fact that Norman's work appeared in seven editions within a few years following the original publication.</p>	
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	<p data-bbox="594 300 663 336" style="text-align: center;">1844</p> <p data-bbox="329 352 930 544">CATHERWOOD, FREDERICK. Views of ancient monuments in Central America and Yucatan by F. Catherwood, Arch^t. London. <i>Also</i> New York. (Folio.)</p> <p data-bbox="379 560 930 938">In the Introduction some of the buildings of Uxmal are briefly described on pp. 7-8, and the rapid growth of vegetation is commented on. Pl. 8-15 illustrate some of the edifices, but these are not the same illustrations as those published by Stephens, with the exception of pl. 14, the northern end of the western range of the "Monjas" group, which reproduces Stephens' plate opposite p. 302, the only difference being that the drawing published by Catherwood is more highly finished and detailed.</p> <p data-bbox="379 943 930 1289">An original painting by Catherwood has been long in possession of the American Geographical Society of New York. It has now been lent to the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, and is exhibited in the hall devoted to Mexican and Central American antiquities. This painting represents the western section of the northern range of the "Monjas" group, and until now has remained unpublished. It measures 3 ft. 5 in. long and 1 ft. 9 in. high. We re-</p>
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NORTHERN BUILDING OF THE
From an unpublished painting by



"MONJAS" GROUP, UXMAL
Frederick Catherwood in 1841

SAVILLE---UXMAL BIBLIOGRAPHY



NORTHERN BUILDING OF THE
From a photograph made in 1888 by Henry M. Sw



"MONJAS" GROUP, UXMAL
Photograph for the Peabody Museum, Harvard University



GENERAL VIEW OF THE NORTHERN PART
From a photograph made in 1888 by Henry M. Swann



IT OF THE "MONJAS" GROUP, UXMAL
set for the Peabody Museum, Harvard University



GENERAL VIEW OF THE NORTHERN P.
From a photograph made in 19



ART OF THE "MONJAS" GROUP, UXMAL
19 by George Oakley Totten, Jr.

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<p>produce it in pl. i. In Catherwood's Views, pl. 15 shows a section of this painting with slight variations in the composition of the group of people in the foreground. It shows only two of the doorways, whereas the one we now reproduce gives the entire western half of the building. Our pl. ii presents this building from a photograph made by Henry M. Sweet in 1888 for the Peabody Museum, Harvard University; it is the same section given by Catherwood. Pl. iii, a photograph also made by Mr Sweet, is a view of the entire structure, showing also the front of the western and the back of the eastern buildings of the "Monjas" group. It was taken from the pyramid of the House of the Dwarfs, or, as it is also called, Casa del Adivino. Pl. iv is the same view reproduced from a photograph made in 1919 by Maj. George Oakley Totten, Jr. It exhibits the present condition of the building, cleared of vegetation by the Mexican Inspector of Monuments. Changes will be noted in the two photographs in the ruined building in the middle foreground of pl. iii and the lower right-hand corner of pl. iv, a section of the middle end having fallen during the last thirty-one years.</p> <p>MÜHLENPFORDT, EDUARD. Versuch einer getruen Schilderung de Republik Mejico. Hannover. 2 vols.</p> <p>A mere mention of Uxmal appears in</p>	
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	<p>Zweiter Band, p. 12, which gives the name as Uchmal. Mühlenpfordt spent seven years in Mexico, but evidently did not visit Yucatan.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">1845</p> <p>L.G. Una visita á las ruinas de Uxmal. <i>Registro Yucateco</i>, Merida, tomo I, pp. 275-279.</p> <p>M.F.P. Una incursion al interior. <i>Registro Yucateco</i>, Merida, tomo I, pp. 361-370.</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">Describes a visit to Uxmal.</p> <p>UN CURIOSO (<i>pseudonym</i>). Dos dias en Nophat. <i>Registro Yucateco</i>, Merida, tomo II, pp. 261-272.</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">This article is dated May 25, 1845, and is largely a dialogue relating to the traditional history of Uxmal. We quote Bancroft's paraphrase of it in another place (pp. 59-60).</p> <p style="text-align: center;">1848-1850</p> <p>STEPHENS, JOHN LLOYD. Viaje a Yucatan a fines de 1841 y principios de 1842. Consideraciones sobre los usos, costumbres y vida social de</p>
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<p>este pueblo, y examen y descripcion de las vastas ruinas y ciudades Americanas que en él existen. Obra que, con el título de "Incidents of Travel in Yucatan" escribió en ingles Mr. John L. Stephens, y la traduce al castellano, con algunas notas ocasionales, D. Justo Sierra. Tomo I, 373 + xxiv pp., Campeche, 1848; tomo II, 409 pp., Campeche, 1850.</p> <p>In this Mexican edition no maps, plans, or pictures are given, but it is of importance for the annotations made by the translator, Don Justo Sierra, father of the late Minister of Public Instruction in Mexico, of the same name.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">1853</p> <p>HELLER, CARL. Reisen in Mexiko in den Jahren 1845-1848. Leipzig.</p> <p>For Uxmal, see 2d Abschnitt, chap. xvii, pp. 255-268. Heller spent three days in Uxmal in April 1847.</p> <p>STEPHENS, JOHN LLOYD. Begebenheiten auf einer Reise in Yucatan. Deutsch von Dr. N. N. W. Meissner. 116 Abbildungen, 10 Plänen, und einer</p>	
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	<p data-bbox="391 295 927 371">Karte von Yucatan. Leipzig, xviii, 438 pp. 8°.</p> <p data-bbox="381 379 927 440">A German translation of Incidents of Travel in Yucatan.</p> <p data-bbox="593 483 660 518">1854</p> <p data-bbox="324 534 927 802">STEPHENS, JOHN LLOYD. Reiseerlebnisse in Centralamerika, Chiapas und Yucatan. Nach der zwölften Auflage ins Deutsche Übertragen von Eduard Hoepfner. Mit einer Karte, Plänen und zahlreichen Illustrationen. Leipzig, xiv, 554 pp., ill. 8°.</p> <p data-bbox="381 813 927 906">A German translation of Incidents of Travel in Central America, Chiapas, and Yucatan.</p> <p data-bbox="324 949 927 1252">STEPHENS, JOHN LLOYD, <i>and</i> CATHERWOOD, FREDERICK. Incidents of travel in Central America, Chiapas, and Yucatan. By the late John Lloyd Stephens. Revised from the latest American edition, with additions, by Frederick Catherwood. London. (1 vol.)</p> <p data-bbox="412 1264 927 1295">The account of Uxmal is chapter xli, pp.</p>
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<p>515-526, 3 ill. The only revision made by Catherwood is the omission of the paragraph at the bottom of page 433 and the top of page 434. This referred to a "sculptured ornament . . . introduced in one of the compartments of the plan" (plate opposite p. 429 of the original edition, and p. 522 of the revised edition). This sculpture had been removed by the owner of the estate, Don Simon Peort, who had "the intention of setting it up as an ornament on the front of his hacienda." Don Simon presented the sculpture to Stephens, and with a number of other pieces, notably the two great slabs from Kabah, it was sent to New York. (See note under Stephens, 1843.) The plates in this edition of Catherwood are from revised drawings, and in place of the plate given by Stephens opposite p. 434, showing a section of the northeast corner of the House of the Governor with a single doorway, Catherwood gives (p. 526) a larger section of the same building with two doorways and a portion of one of the arches, with the terraced platform upon which the building stands.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">1858</p> <p>BRASSEUR DE BOURBOURG, <i>Abbé</i>. Histoire des nations civilisées du Mex-</p>	
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	<p data-bbox="412 288 940 357">ique et de l'Amérique-Centrale. Paris.</p> <p data-bbox="401 389 951 647">In tome second, chap. quatrième, pp. 578-591, Brasseur de Bourbourg gives an extended account of the traditional history of Uxmal, taken, as he writes, from the article Dos Dias en Nophat (see entry under 1845) and from data furnished him by Sr Casares, "a well-informed Yucatecan, and former Deputy from his land to Mexico."</p> <p data-bbox="615 699 681 730">1860</p> <p data-bbox="350 751 951 863">CHARNAY, DÉSIRÉ. Un voyage au Yucatan. <i>Tour du Monde</i>, Paris, tome v.</p> <p data-bbox="405 895 951 1023">On p. 344 is a view of the north range of the group of the Monjas, and, on p. 352, an illustration of the east range of the same group.</p> <p data-bbox="619 1038 684 1070">1863</p> <p data-bbox="350 1091 951 1283">CHARNAY, DÉSIRÉ. Cités et ruines Américaines Mitla, Palenqué, Izamal, Chichen-Itza, Uxmal Recueillies et photographiées par Désiré Charnay avec une texte par M.</p>
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<p>Viollet-le-Duc. Paris. (With atlas of plates.)</p> <p>The ruins of Uxmal are treated from an architectural point of view by Viollet-le-Duc, under the title "Antiquités Américaines," from a study of the photographs and notes made by Charnay, on pp. 61, 72, figs. 8-10: Charnay describes the ruins in the section "Le Mexique, 1858-1861, Souvenir et Impressions de Voyage," chap. XI, pp. 351-382.</p> <p>The atlas is an oblong folio of 7 pp. and 49 pl. Pl. 35-49 are of Uxmal. Pl. 35 is a view of the front of the pyramid of the "House of the Dwarf," also called the "House of the Diviner." Pl. 36 shows the northern range of the "Monjas group," the view shown in our reproduction of Catherwood's drawing. Pl. 37-44 are other views of the four buildings of this group. Pl. 45-47 present views of the "House of the Governor," 45 being a double folding plate. Pl. 48 is the "House of the Turtles," and 49 is a general view of the ruins looking south from the courtyard of the "Monjas group." The copy in the New York Public Library bears the date 1862. A copy is described in the catalogue of the Squier Library under the title "'Le Mexique et les Monuments Anciens,' 20 photographs. Paris, 1864."</p>	
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	<p data-bbox="584 296 650 331" style="text-align: center;">1865</p> <p data-bbox="319 344 922 533">RAMÍREZ, JOSÉ FERNANDO. Viaje á Yucatan y descripcion de sus ruinas. (MS.) Title cited in <i>Biblioteca Historico-Americana</i>, Mexico, 1898, p. xliii. (See 1887, Chavero.)</p> <p data-bbox="319 539 922 647">RAMÍREZ, JOSÉ FERNANDO. Extractos y noticias de manuscritos relacionados con la historia de Mexico. Tomo III.</p> <p data-bbox="370 660 922 810">Contains a copy of the solicitation of Lorenzo de Evia, dated 1663 and 1667. Evidently the documents (1687-88) copied by Stephens and presented by him in English.</p> <p data-bbox="584 823 650 858" style="text-align: center;">1866</p> <p data-bbox="319 871 922 1021">VIOULET-LE-DUC, M. Ciudades y ruinas Americanas, Mitla, Palenque, Izamal, Chichen-Itza, Uxmal. Mexico.</p> <p data-bbox="370 1034 922 1126">A translation by José Guzman of <i>Antiquités Américaines</i> (1863). Uxmal is described on pp. 38-45.</p> <p data-bbox="584 1171 650 1206" style="text-align: center;">1867</p> <p data-bbox="319 1219 922 1295">BRASSEUR DE BOURBOURG, Abbé. Extract from a letter written in Mexico,</p>
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<p>Jan. 27, 1865. <i>Archives de la Commission scientifique du Mexique</i>. Paris, tome I, pp. 457-460.</p> <p>In this letter Brasseur de Bourbourg writes of his visit to the ruins of Izamal and Uxmal, stating that he spent ten days at Uxmal with M. Bourgeois, apparently in December, 1864.</p> <p>BRASSEUR DE BOURBOURG, <i>Abbé</i>. Essai historique sur le Yucatan et description des ruines de Ti-Hoo (Merida) et d'Izamal. <i>Archives de la Commission scientifique du Mexique</i>, Paris, tome II, pp. 18-64.</p> <p>This report, dated Mexico, Feb. 24, 1865, contains numerous references to Uxmal. On p. 39 Brasseur de Bourbourg illustrates a small stone sculpture representing a human head, obtained by him in Uxmal.</p> <p>BRASSEUR DE BOURBOURG, <i>Abbé</i>. Rapport sur les ruines de Mayapan et Uxmal au Yucatan (Mexique). <i>Archives de la Commission scientifique du Mexique</i>, Paris, tome II, pp. 234-288.</p>	
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	<p>This includes an important report on Uxmal (pp. 249-288), with a folded plan of the ruins and four text illustrations. The author paid considerable attention to the ancient water-supply and to the outlying ruined structures.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">1877</p> <p>SALISBURY, STEPHEN. The Mayas. The sources of their history. <i>Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society of April 26, 1876, and April 25, 1877</i>, Worcester, Mass., pp. 18-21.</p> <p>The author spent the winter of 1861 in Yucatan, and his description refers to a visit to the ruins of Uxmal at that time, "in company with a party of sixteen gentlemen from Merida, of whom two only had seen them before."</p> <p style="text-align: center;">1879</p> <p>VARIGNY, C. V. C. DE. Las ruinas de Uxmal. Madrid. 8°.</p> <p>Title from Haebler. (See item under 1891.)</p> <p style="text-align: center;">1880</p> <p>RICE, ALLEN THORNDIKE. Ruined cities of Central America. <i>North Ameri-</i></p>
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<p><i>can Review</i>, New York, vol. CCLXXXV, August, pp. 89-108.</p> <p>An introduction by the editor of <i>The North American Review</i> to a series of articles by Désiré Charnay describing his explorations among the ruined cities of Mexico and Central America during the years 1880-1882. This expedition was under the auspices of the French Government and of Mr Pierre Lorillard, who defrayed the greater part of the expenses. Several of the buildings of Uxmal are described by Rice on pp. 100-103. In the eleven articles which follow, Charnay does not describe his explorations at Uxmal, except to state, in article x, that he "sent a party to Uxmal, under the direction of Mr Aymé [the United States Consul], to make casts of the inscriptions in the Governor's Palace" (p. 411). Numerous reports of this expedition were published in different places and in various languages. The definitive account will be found in the French and English narratives published in 1885 and 1887.</p> <p>MORGAN, LEWIS HENRY. A study of the houses of the American aborigines; with suggestions for the examination of the ruins in New Mexico, Arizona, the valley of the San Juan, and in</p>	
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	<p>Yucatan and Central America. <i>Archæological Institute of America, First Annual Report of the Executive Committee, 1879-1880.</i> Cambridge.</p> <p>The above study occupies pp. 27-80. In it Mr Morgan attempts to show, based chiefly on the grouping of the ruins of Uxmal, that the ruined cities of Yucatan and Central America are to be classed as communal structures, "joint-tenement houses of the aboriginal American type." Uxmal ruins are treated on pp. 59-67, 77-78, figs. 18-22.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">1881</p> <p>MORGAN, LEWIS HENRY. Houses and house-life of the American aborigines. <i>Contributions to North American Ethnology</i>, vol. IV, Washington.</p> <p>This is an extended study, of which the entry under 1880 is simply a specially prepared article. Chapter IX, pp. 251-276, covers the "Ruins of houses of the sedentary Indians of Yucatan and Central America." The same arguments are adduced to prove the communal character of the Yucatan buildings. Uxmal is treated on pp. 256, 259-266, 275-276, figs. 50-54.</p>
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<p>BANCROFT, HUBERT HOWE. The works of Hubert Howe Bancroft. Vol. IV, The Native Races: vol. iv, Antiquities. San Francisco.</p> <p>A résumé (pp. 149-200) describing the ruins based on the works of various explorers, with many illustrations. Valuable for its bibliographic notes.</p> <p>BANCROFT, HUBERT HOWE. Ibid. Vol. V, The Native Races: vol. v, Primitive History.</p> <p>In chap. XIII, on the History of the Mayas in Yucatan, pp. 629-633, the traditional history of the reign of the Tutul Xiu family in Uxmal is discussed.</p> <p>CATALOGO DE LA EXPOSICION AMERICANISTA. Madrid. Sección primera, números 230-231.</p> <p>Contains a notice of sculptures from the Casa del Gobernador and the Monjas group, taken from the ruins, now in the Museo Arqueológico de Madrid. Mentioned by Troncoso (1893), p. 41.</p>	
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	<p data-bbox="588 316 656 352" style="text-align: center;">1884</p> <p data-bbox="322 368 926 480">CHARNAY, DÉSIRÉ. Voyage au Yucatan et au pays des Lacandons. <i>Tour du Monde</i>, Paris, tomes XLVII-XLVIII.</p> <p data-bbox="373 496 926 592">A series of articles in 23 chapters. Uxmal is described in chap. XIV, pp. 59-64, with 5 ill.</p> <p data-bbox="322 632 926 743">CHARNAY, DÉSIRÉ. Viaje al Yucatan y al país de los Lacandones. <i>América Pintoresco</i>, Barcelona, pp. 341-476.</p> <p data-bbox="373 759 926 919">This is a translation of the narrative published in <i>Tour du Monde</i>. Uxmal is described on pp. 416-422, 4 ill. A picture of the hacienda of Uxmal appearing in the French version is omitted.</p> <p data-bbox="322 959 926 1062">OBER, FREDERICK A. Travels in Mexico, and life among the Mexicans. Boston.</p> <p data-bbox="373 1086 926 1206">Chap. III, Uxmal, pp. 56-81, 5 ill. The plate opposite p. 72, with the caption "Uxmal," should be Chichen Itza. Ober visited Uxmal in March 1881.</p>
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<p style="text-align: center;">1885</p> <p>LE PLONGEON, ALICE D. The old and the new in Yucatan. <i>Harper's Monthly</i>, New York, Feb., pp. 372-386.</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">An interesting account of Uxmal on pp. 376-381, with three views of the buildings.</p> <p>CHARNAY, DÉSIRÉ. Les anciennes villes du nouveau monde voyages d'explorations au Mexique et dans l'Amérique Centrale par Désiré Charnay 1857-1882. Paris.</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">Chap. 20, Uxmal, pp. 331-349, 9 ill.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">1887</p> <p>CHARNAY, DÉSIRÉ. The ancient cities of the New World being voyages and explorations in Mexico and Central America from 1857-1882. Translated from the French by J. Gonino and Helen S. Conant. New York.</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">Uxmal, pp. 390-413, 9 ill.</p>	
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	<p>CHAVERO, ALFREDO. Mexico á traves de los siglos. Tomo I, Primera epoca. Historia antigua. Mexico. Barcelona.</p> <p>For Uxmal, see cap. vi, pp. 424-433; cap. vii, pp. 436-456; 65 ill.</p> <p>In prefacing the account of Uxmal, Chavero writes: "Generally in describing these prodigious ruins historians copy the magnificent description of Stephens; we more fortunately substitute the unpublished account of Don José Fernando Ramírez . . . the result of a visit made by him to Uxmal in 1865." The Ramírez report referred to by Chavero is still unpublished, except for the extracts relating to Uxmal. It is entitled "Viaje á Yucatan y descripcion de sus ruinas arqueológicas." See <i>Biblioteca Historica-Americana Septentrional</i>, Mexico, 1898, p. xliii. The Ramírez account published by Chavero contains detailed descriptions of the House of the Governor, pp. 424-429; House of the Turtles, pp. 436-438; Group of the Monjas, or Nunnery, pp. 442-452; House of the Doves, pp. 452-454. See 1865, Ramírez.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">1888</p> <p>OBER, FREDERICK A. Ancient cities of America. <i>Bulletin of the American</i></p>
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<p><i>Geographical Society</i>, New York, vol. XX, no. 1.</p> <p>Uxmal is described on pp. 62-65.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">1889</p> <p>BANKS, DAVID SALTONSTALL. A New Yorker in Yucatan. <i>Frank Leslie's Popular Magazine</i>, New York, vol. XXVII, no. 5.</p> <p>Mr Banks gives an interesting description of the principal buildings at Uxmal, with an illustration of the House of the Dwarfs, on pp. 547-550.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">1891</p> <p>VARIGNY, C. V. C. DE. Les ruines d'Uxmal. <i>L'Illustration</i>, Supplément au no. 2928, Paris, 8 avril, pp. 1-41, ill.</p> <p>A modern story with the scene laid in Uxmal. Haebler gives the title, Las Ruinas de Uxmal, Madrid, 1879.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">1892</p> <p>SAVILLE, MARSHALL H. Vandalism among the antiquities of Yucatan</p>	
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	<p>and Central America. <i>Proceedings of the American Association for the Advancement of Science</i>, Rochester, vol. XLI, p. 276; <i>Science</i>, New York, vol. XX, p. 365.</p> <p>Calls attention to the painting of names on the buildings, and the breaking of sculptures with machetes. The writer spent several weeks at Uxmal during the winter of 1891 in the excavation of a mound at the rear of the hacienda building. Several tombs were discovered under the floors of the rooms.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">1893</p> <p>PASO Y TRONCOSO FRANCISCO DEL. Catálogo de la Sección de Mexico, Exposición Histórico-Americana de Madrid. Madr d.</p> <p>Tomo II, pp. 40-51, contains a detailed description of a number of enlarged photographs of the ruins of Uxmal, exhibited at the Exposición Histórico-Americana held in Madrid in 1892 in honor of the four-hundredth centenary of the discovery of America.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">1894</p> <p>BRINE, LINDSAY. Travels amongst the American Indians, their ancient</p>
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<p>earthworks and temples, including a journey in Guatemala, Mexico and Yucatan, and a visit to the ruins of Patinamit, Pa enque and Uxmal. London.</p> <p>Vice-Admiral Brine visited Uxmal in January, 1870. For his descriptions, see pp. xv-xvi, 336-359, 10 ill.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">1895</p> <p>HAEBLER, KARL. Die Maya-Litteratur und der Maya-Apparat zu Dresden. <i>Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen</i>, Leipzig, XII Jahrgang, 12 Heft, pp. 537-575.</p> <p>For Uxmal, see p. 554.</p> <p>BAKER, FRANK COLLINS. A naturalist in Mexico; being a visit to Cuba, northern Yucatan and Mexico. Chicago.</p> <p>HOLMES, WILLIAM H. Archæological studies among the ancient cities of Mex'co. Part I, Monuments of</p>	
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	<p data-bbox="408 300 946 411">Yucatan. <i>Field Columbian Museum, Anthropological Series, Publication 8</i>, vol. 1, no. 1, Chicago, Dec.</p> <p data-bbox="396 430 946 743">Uxmal, pp. 80-96, pl. v-ix, fig. 26. This is the most important and detailed description of the main buildings of Uxmal. Pl. viii is a sketch map, and pl. ix a panorama of the group which gives a splendid conception of this wonderful ruined city. Professor Holmes was a member of the Armour Expedition, and was in Uxmal in January, 1895. The "inscribed stela or column" on pl. vii was discovered by Le Plongeon.</p> <p data-bbox="609 786 676 818">1896</p> <p data-bbox="343 837 946 1142">MERCER, HENRY C. Hill-caves of Yucatan. A search for evidence of man's antiquity in the caverns of Central America, being an account of the Corwith expedition of the Department of Archæology and Palæontology of the University of Pennsylvania. Philadelphia.</p> <p data-bbox="396 1161 946 1251">In chap. x, Uxmal, pp. 85-90, fig. 32, Mercer records a visit to the ruins in 1895, but adds nothing to our knowledge of them.</p>
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<p>FOULKE, WILLIAM DUDLEY. Uxmal. <i>Monthly Illustrator</i>, New York, no. 12, pp. 256-263, 11 ill.</p> <p>A very readable account of the ruins, with original illustrations. Mr Foulke visited Uxmal for material to furnish local color for a novel, "Maya a Story of Yucatan," published by G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York and London, 1900.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">1897</p> <p>MERCER, HENRY C. Cave hunting in Yucatan. <i>Technology Quarterly</i>, Boston, December, vol. x, no. 4.</p> <p>Mention of Uxmal, pp. 364-365, 1 pl.</p> <p>NEUE FORSCHUNGEN in den Ruinen von Uxmal (Yukatan). <i>Globus</i>, Bd. LXXI, H. 14, 3 April, pp. 220-224, 4 fig.</p> <p>A review of the part of Holmes' work relating to Uxmal, with two of Maler's photographs of the "Nunnery" group.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">1903</p> <p>SELER, EDUARD. Ein Wintersemester in México und Yucatan. <i>Zeitschrift</i></p>	
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	<p><i>der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin</i>, Bd. 38, pp. 477-502.</p> <p>Seler publishes a photograph of the corner of one of the buildings of the "Nunnery" group, showing three masks with upturned, curled noses.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">1905</p> <p>GORDON, GEORGE BYRON. The serpent motive in the ancient art of Central America and Mexico. <i>Transactions of the Department of Archæology, University of Pennsylvania</i>, Philadelphia, vol. I, pt. III.</p> <p>Examples of the sculptured details of the Uxmal buildings are used in the development of the author's thesis. See pl. vii and xiii.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">1906</p> <p>SELER, EDUARD. Studien in den Ruinen von Yucatan. <i>Correspondenzblatt der deutschen Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte</i>, Bd. xxxv, pp. 114-116, 1903.</p> <p>Enlarged in <i>Compte Rendu de la XVème session du Congrès international des Américanistes</i>, Quebec,</p>
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<p>1906, tome II, pp. 414-422. Included in <i>Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur Amerikanischen Sprach- und Alterthumskunde</i>, Berlin, 1908, Dritter Band, pp. 710-717, 5 fig.</p> <p>This is a study of the astronomical symbolism and glyphs of the temples of Uxmal.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">1907</p> <p>MOLINA SOLIS, JUAN FRANCISCO. El primer obispado de la nacion Mexicana. Articulos publicados sobre esta materia y sobre otros puntos de nuestra historia. <i>Articulos sobre la historia antigua de Yucatan</i>. I, La Ruina de Uxmal, pp. 79-84. II, Ruina de Uxmal (continuacion), pp. 85-91. Merida de Yucatan.</p> <p>Historical study of the rise and fall of Uxmal.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">1908</p> <p>ZAYAS ENRÍQUEZ, RAFAEL. El estado de Yucatán su pasado su presente su porvenir. New York.</p> <p>Photographs of Uxmal, p. 219; El Templo del Adivino, p. 222; Casa de las Monjas,</p>	
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	<p>p. 229; Palacio del Gobernador, p. 231; El Caracol, p. 243; Casa de las Monjas.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">1909</p> <p>SAVILLE, MARSHALL H. The cruciform structures of Mitla and vicinity. <i>Putnam Anniversary Volume</i>, New York.</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">Comparison of Uxmal and Mitla "mosaic" stone walls, p. 188, pl. xiii.</p> <p>MORLEY, SYLVANUS GRISWOLD. A group of related structures at Uxmal, Mexico. <i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>, Second ser., vol. XIV (1910), pp. 1-18, 2 pl., 2 fig.</p> <p>ARNOLD, CHANNING, and FROST, FREDERIC J. TABOR. The American Egypt. A record of travel in Yucatan. New York.</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">Uxmal is described briefly on pp. 200-203. The authors justly state that "undoubtedly there is a large field for work here, which will amply reward archæologists in those days when the 'dog in the manger' policy of the Mexican 'Jacks in office' is a thing of the past, and intelligent landowners, such as Señor Peon, can assist students in every</p>
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<p>way instead of having their hands fettered by absurd Federal rules."</p> <p style="text-align: center;">1910</p> <p>RICKARDS, CONSTANTINE GEORGE. The ruins of Mexico. London.</p> <p>Vol. 1, pp. 21-23, 39 mounted photographs of Uxmal. This is the most extensive collection of photographs of the ruins of Uxmal that have been published.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">1910 (?)</p> <p>YOUNG, W. P., compiler. In Mayaland Yucatan. [n.p., n.d.] [A folder]</p> <p>"Issued by a representative group of Yucatecan planters and merchants," the Yucatan Tours Bureau.</p> <p>It is copiously illustrated, and contains 18 beautiful illustrations of Uxmal, 9 of which were made by Teobert Maler. The copy in the collection of the compiler has been annotated by Maler.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">1911</p> <p>CASE, HENRY A. Views on and of Yucatan, besides notes upon parts of Campeche and the territory of Quintana Roo. Collected during a</p>	
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	<p>long residence in the peninsula. Merida.</p> <p>The description of Uxmal (pp. 123-154, 9 pl., 2 maps) is: (1) How to get there; (2) Criticism of Le Plongeon; (3) Description of buildings; (4) Legends.</p> <p>MORLEY, SYLVANUS GRISWOLD. Ancient temples and cities of the New World. Uxmal, the city of the Xius. <i>Bulletin of the Pan American Union</i>, Washington, vol. 32, April, pp. 627-642, 11 ill.</p> <p>1912</p> <p>MALER, TEOBERT. Lista de las ilustraciones para una proyectada publicación de Teobert Maler, en el libro de recuerdos del Congreso de Americanistas.</p> <p>A series of photographs made by Maler, published in <i>Reseña de la segunda sesion del XVII Congreso Internacional de Americanistas efectuada en la Ciudad de Mexico durante el mes de Septiembre de 1910</i>, Mexico, 1912. The second series of plates, nos. 1-8, are of Uxmal, of a building, and sculptures near</p>
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<p>tombs in the vicinity of the said building, never before published.</p> <p>HUNTINGTON, ELLSWORTH. The peninsula of Yucatan. <i>Bulletin of the American Geographical Society</i>, New York, vol. XLIV, no. 11.</p> <p>On p. 819 is a view of the central design of the façade of the House of the Governor, wrongly captioned as "of a ruin at Kabah."</p> <p style="text-align: center;">1913</p> <p>SELER, EDUARD. Ueber einige Ältere Systeme in den Ruinen von Uxmal. <i>Proceedings of the Eighteenth International Congress of Americanists</i>, 1912, London, pp. 220-235, 3 pl., 14 fig.</p> <p>SPINDEN, HERBERT JOSEPH. A study of Maya art, its subject matter and historical development. <i>Memoirs of the Peabody Museum of American Archæology and Ethnology</i>, Cambridge, vol. VI.</p> <p>Contains numerous references to Uxmal.</p>	
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	<p>On pp. 5-8 is a translation of the description of Uxmal made in 1586 by Father Ponce (see pp. 70-78 herein).</p> <p style="text-align: center;">1914</p> <p>HUNTINGTON, ELLSWORTH. The mystery of the Yucatan ruins. <i>Harper's Magazine</i>, New York, April.</p> <p>On p. 762 is a picture of one of the exterior arched rooms of the House of the Governor.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">1915</p> <p>HEWETT, EDGAR LEE. Ancient America at the Panama-California Exposition. <i>Art and Archaeology</i>, Washington, vol. II, no. 3, pp. 64-102.</p> <p>On p. 92 reference is made to Uxmal, and on p. 93 is a reproduction of Vierra's panoramic painting of the site. On p. 101 is a photograph of Holmes' model of the House of the Governor, which is described on pp. 100-101.</p> <p>SELER, EDUARD. Die Ruinen von Uxmal. <i>Zeitschrift für Ethnologie</i>, Berlin, Bd. XLVII, pp. 429-432.</p>
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<p style="text-align: center;">1916</p> <p>HEWETT, EDGAR LEE. America's archæological heritage. <i>Art and Archæology</i>, Washington, vol. IV, no. 6, December.</p> <p>On pp. 263 and 265 are photographs of three Uxmal buildings.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">1917</p> <p>SELER, EDUARD. Die Ruinen von Uxmal. <i>Abhandlungen der königlichen preuss. Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-Hist. Klasse</i>, no. 3, Berlin, 154 pp.</p> <p>MORLEY, SYLVANUS GRISWOLD. The rise and fall of the Maya civilization in the light of the monuments and the native chronicles. <i>Proceedings of the Nineteenth International Congress of Americanists, 1915</i>, Washington, pp. 140-149, 11 pl.</p> <p>Pl. v, c, gives a painting of the Uxmal site made by Carlos Vierra. Some historical information concerning the ruins is given.</p>	
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	<p data-bbox="588 284 654 316" style="text-align: center;">1918</p> <p data-bbox="319 339 930 531">GANN, Dr THOMAS. The Maya Indians of southern Yucatan and northern British Honduras. <i>Bulletin 64, Bureau of American Ethnology</i>, Washington.</p> <p data-bbox="370 555 930 715">On pp. 140-142 Dr Gann describes two human heads of stucco from Uxmal, the faces painted in several colors. These are now in the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation.</p> <p data-bbox="370 722 930 1289">As Dr Gann did not illustrate these very important specimens of stucco-work, we give them in pls. v-vi. They are beautifully modeled and may be taken as portraits of individuals of high rank. The heads are life-size, the one shown in pl. v being 11 in. high, the face having a height of $8\frac{3}{4}$ in. This head is represented placed in a beak, only the lower part being left in our specimen. It is painted black, with brown patches placed on each side of the mouth. The lips are red, and the eyes are white with black pupils, and a line of brown encircles the entire eye on the lids. There is a twisted fillet on the top of the head, which comes down on each side of the face in front of and below the ears. The lower part has been broken off. There is a labret in the upper</p>
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**PAINTED STUCCO HEAD FROM A RECENTLY DISCOVERED CHAMBER
IN THE HOUSE OF THE GOVERNOR, UXMAL**



**PAINTED STUCCO HEAD FROM A RECENTLY DISCOVERED CHAMBER
IN THE HOUSE OF THE GOVERNOR, UXMAL**



**PAINTED STUCCO HEAD FROM A RECENTLY DISCOVERED CHAMBER
IN THE HOUSE OF THE GOVERNOR, UXMAL**



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<p>lip, and a curious ornament on the nose. Broad, white bands are painted around the eyes. The large, circular ear-ornaments are painted red. On the forehead are four protruding pellets placed one above the other, a familiar feature on many heads of stone and clay found in the Mayan area. The small, grotesque head shown in pl. vii is painted black, with three red discs for eyes and mouth. Is it reported that this piece formed a kind of helmet for the portrait head just described. It is 6 in. high.</p> <p>The other portrait head, illustrated in pl. vi, is 9 in. high, the face being the same size as that of the other. It is painted in the same colors, the only difference in treatment being in the lip-ornament, which consists of two pellets instead of one. This head has also the twisted fillet, but there is no evidence of ears in the specimens as broken from the main figure. Both heads are said to have been found in a sealed chamber, broken into in the House of the Governor, in the section of the arched connection of the northern recess in the outer wall on the western side. These two heads are the finest examples of stucco-work as yet found in Yucatan, where this material was sparingly used. They may be compared with the beautiful stucco-work at Palenque.</p>	
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	<p data-bbox="609 296 674 323" style="text-align: center;">1919</p> <p data-bbox="344 344 948 494">MORLEY, SYLVANUS GRISWOLD. Archeology. <i>Extracted from Year Book No. 17 of the Carnegie Institution of Washington</i> (for 1918), pp. 269-276.</p> <p data-bbox="399 512 948 635">Gives an interpretation of several inscriptions at Uxmal, corresponding with the years 1219 and 1277 A.D., the results of an expedition to Yucatan, February to April, 1918.</p> <p data-bbox="344 676 948 906">MENA, RAMON. Cípackonal (de la "Casa del Adivino" en Uxmal Yucatan). <i>Memorias y Revista de la Sociedad Científica Antonio Alzate</i>, Mexico, tomo 38, núms. 5-8, pp. 271-275, pl. xxviii, fig. on p. 372.</p> <p data-bbox="612 952 677 979" style="text-align: center;">1920</p> <p data-bbox="344 1000 948 1150">MORLEY, SYLVANUS GRISWOLD. The inscriptions at Copan. <i>Publications of the Carnegie Institution of Washington</i>, Appendix II.</p>
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THIS series of INDIAN NOTES AND MONOGRAPHS is devoted primarily to the publication of the results of studies by members of the staff of the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, and is uniform with HISPANIC NOTES AND MONOGRAPHS, published by the Hispanic Society of America, with which organization this Museum is in cordial coöperation.

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INDIAN NOTES AND MONOGRAPHS

EDITED BY F. W. HODGE

VOL. IX



No. 3

A SERIES OF PUBLICA-
TIONS RELATING TO THE
AMERICAN ABORIGINES

REPORTS ON THE MAYA INDIANS OF YUCATAN

BY

SANTIAGO MENDEZ,
ANTONIO GARCÍA Y CUBAS,
PEDRO SANCHEZ DE AGUILAR,
AND

FRANCISCO HERNANDEZ

EDITED BY

MARSHALL H. SAVILLE

NEW YORK

MUSEUM OF THE AMERICAN INDIAN
HEYE FOUNDATION

1921

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PREFACE



SO LITTLE has been written in regard to the ethnology of the Maya Indians of Yucatan, and especially concerning their beliefs, which persist to the present time, that we publish here a translation of an important and practically unknown account of this subject. This report was printed in Mexico in 1870, but it is buried in a study by Antonio García y Cubas entitled "Materiales para formar la Estadística General de la República Mexicana," in *Boletín de la Sociedad Mexicana de Geografía y Estadística*, segunda época, tomo II, pp. 352-388. It is on pages 374-387, bears the date Mérida, October 24, 1861, and was written by Santiago Méndez, who states that he was governor of Yucatan during the years 1841-42. In connection with a

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	<p>study of this report, so far as it relates to the beliefs of the Maya, it will be profitable to consult the paper by Dr Daniel G. Brinton on The Folk-lore of Yucatan, printed in the <i>Folk-Lore Journal</i>, London, vol. 1, part viii, 13 pp., August, 1883.</p> <p>We have also had translated the notes on the superstitions of the Indians of Yucatan contained in the work of Pedro Sanchez de Aguilar, 1639, published by the Museo Nacional of Mexico in 1892 (pp. 83-84), and the report of Francisco Hernandez on the religious beliefs of the Yucatan Indians, which was sent to Bartolomé de las Casas, evidently while Bishop of Yucatan in 1545, and is given by him in chapter cxxiii (pp. 328-330) of his <i>Apologetica Historia de las Indias</i>, a work which did not appear in print until 1875-76, the first complete edition of which was edited by M. Serrano y Sanz, and printed at Madrid in 1909.</p> <p>The information contained in the Mendez report is strikingly similar to that given by Bartolomé José Granado Baeza on Los Indios de Yucatan, an</p>
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<p>account written in 1813 but not published until 1845, when it appeared in the <i>Registro Yucateco</i>, tomo 1, pp. 165-178. This report of Baeza is one of the principal sources used by Brinton in his study.</p> <p>The editor has incorporated a few brief notes, and has prepared a glossary of the Indian words and a short bibliography of the subject.</p> <p>MARSHALL H. SAVILLE.</p>	
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THE MAYA INDIANS OF YUCATAN IN 1861

BY SANTIAGO MENDEZ

Report on the Customs, Labor, Language, Industry, Physiognomy, etc., of the Indians of Yucatan, made by the Agent of the Department of Public Works, who signs this report, in obedience to orders of February 6, 1861.

CUSTOMS



THE character of the Indians of Yucatan is such that, were they to be judged only by their customs and their habits, we would have to qualify them as stupid and devoid of reason. It seems indifferent to them to be in the shade or exposed to rain or to the scorching rays of the sun, even though they could avoid it.

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	<p>It does not matter to them whether they go dressed or naked. They never try to obtain commodities they see other races enjoy, even though the trouble or sacrifice it would cost to get them might be but small. In order to rest or to chat with their companions they hardly ever sit down: they squat, it being quite indifferent to them that they do it in a sun that scorches them when they might perhaps have shade two steps from where they are. Reward does not encourage them, nor does punishment admonish them; in the first place, they think they deserve more,—perhaps because they were always accustomed to be made use of,—and in the second case they consider punishment as a kind of fatality from which it is quite useless to try to deliver themselves: hence they do not reform. So long as their hunger is stilled, it is quite indifferent to them whether their meal is exquisite and varied, or whether it consists only of tortillas and chile, devouring their food in either case with astounding voracity. When they</p>
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<p>find themselves driven by utter necessity, they will work in order to remedy it, but they never do so with zeal or with the desire to improve their fortunes. They are so improvident that they may squander in one day the earnings of a week, in an exaggerated amount of dainties or in superstitious practices, and above all by intoxicating themselves, leaving their families without bread and clothing. Or, they remain idle until whatever they earned by the sweat of their brow is gone. They cultivate a cornfield and gather a good harvest from it, and even though they do not need to do so, they will sell the corn with considerable loss in order to squander the money in splendid repasts and superstitions, both of which always go together. This harvest might insure the subsistence of their family for a whole year, but their improvidence will reduce them within a few days to having to sell themselves for work (peonage).</p> <p>The love of the parents for their children, of the children for their parents, and</p>	
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	<p>between husband and wife, is barely lukewarm, and not at all passionate, if we are to judge from their absolute lack of signs of sympathy, pity, or condolence. They contemplate dry-eyed and rather indifferently the suffering of their nearest, and even their demise, without allowing this to change their demeanor or letting it interfere in the least with their general customs of life.</p> <p>Although some of them can read and write, they use it very little, either because they are very slow and clumsy in the exercise of both, on account, no doubt, of the lack of practice, and also because there is but little written in their own language.</p> <p>Their children have usually no other education than that which they receive from the curates, priests, choirmasters, and teachers of the catechism, which education was formerly given to them at the church doors or in the mansions of the large ranches and farms, and they were compelled to assemble every morning from seven to eight to learn the cate-</p>
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<p>chism. At the present day, as it is not possible to force the parents to send their children to learn even this, there are but few who learn at all, especially among the boys. When the writer of this was governor of this state in the years 1841 and 1842, he succeeded in establishing primary schools in almost all the villages, and although averse to anything that looks or sounds like despotism, he authorized, nevertheless, the mayors, justices of the peace, and chieftains (<i>caciques</i>¹) to use it in order to force parents to send their children to the said schools. Unfortunately, in 1842 came the invasion by the forces of general Santa Anna, and in the effort to resist them, all the resources of the state were spent for many years in advance. Then followed our own senseless revolutions and the almost general uprising of these same Indians against the other native races, consequently these schools passed out of existence without it having been possible until this day to reestablish them. Hence this remains an unsolved problem and it is difficult to</p>	<p>7</p> <p>1</p>
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	<p>calculate the profit they might have brought (once the tenacious and persistent opposition of the Indians overcome), leaving them convinced of the advantages it might mean to further their knowledge even in the manual labor they perform.</p> <p>Generally they train their children from a very early age to help in their agricultural labor such as their forefathers did before the conquest, or else they teach them light manual labor, such as weaving little mats or matting in general, making small bags, baskets of all kinds and sizes, leather bands (such as are used by the native porters[*]), sacks, hammocks, ropes, to prepare henequen from agave fiber, to make straw hats, and so forth. In some villages they are taught to make common pottery, and in places near the coast they are shown how to extract salt, to fish, and seamanship in general. It is very rare that they are taught other arts and crafts or trades, with the exception perhaps in cities or principal towns, where, especially when</p>
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<p>they have been reared and educated in the households of white people, they may become efficient in the art of quarrying stone, though quite primitively, or they qualify as masons, shoemakers, tailors, muleteers, drivers, and cowboys. They also provide the town with firewood, charcoal, and fodder.</p> <p>With regard to their marriage customs, there is little else to say except that the daughter-in-law goes to live in the house of her father-in-law, and the son-in-law goes to live with his wife's parents, which is at present the most usual way, because an episcopal edict had to be issued prohibiting the first-mentioned to avoid the very frequent abuses committed on the bride by her father-in-law and brothers-in-law. At a very early age young men marry, without repugnance, women who are much older, widows, and even girls who have children born out of wedlock. To remonstrances made by those who wish to dissuade them in view of such conditions, they will reply, "Why should I care? This happened before my time!"</p>	
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	<p>It is to be supposed that conjugal fidelity is not regarded very scrupulously by such couples. Their most common diseases depend largely on the seasons, and recur regularly. During summer and fall, when fresh food is abundant, the Indians are very immoderate in its use, consequently they suffer from diarrhea and vomiting. In spring and summer they have <i>tabardillo</i>, which is a burning fever, and dysentery, both of which are caused by too much exposure to the hot sun; and in winter obstinate constipation, colds, and affections of the throat and lungs. Their curative methods consist merely of abstinence and of bleeding, which they perform with a thorn or a fish-bone, and they cool their blood by drinking sour <i>pozole</i> or boiled lemonade, or else a decoction of a plant called <i>xhantumbú</i>. They never use emetics nor cathartics.</p> <p>Ordinarily they eat two meals a day, one on rising and another in the evening. If they go to work in the field, after having breakfasted on tortillas and <i>atole</i>, they</p>
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<p>take with them a large lump of <i>pozole</i> which they use as a refreshment at noon by diluting it in water. At sunset they leave work, and, returning home, eat the second meal, generally after having taken their bath. Their usual food consists of boiled vegetables seasoned with salt, chile, and sometimes with the juice of oranges (the sour orange is used for this) or of lemons. On Sundays, if they are able to do so, they buy beef or pork; these are the only days when they eat meat, except when they kill a wild bird or a creature of the woods while hunting. Such meat they cook by baking it in a special way in the earth, or else in <i>pib</i>. The very poor among them live all the year round on tortillas and chile, and a bowlful of <i>pozole</i> or <i>atole</i>. Even the wealthiest content themselves with only one dish. This does not interfere with their being big eaters, nor devouring all they can get when it does not cost them anything.</p> <p>Their usual beverage is called <i>pitarrilla</i>, consisting of the bark of a plant called</p>	
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	<p><i>balché</i> which they put in soak in fresh water and honey and let it ferment. After fermentation it becomes strong enough to be intoxicating. They are also very fond of liquor, and there are very few among them who do not become intoxicated occasionally, at least on Sundays.</p> <p>Experience, and to a certain extent tradition, are their only guides for telling the different seasons of the year; they have not the slightest remembrance of their ancient calendar system. They are accustomed to hear clocks strike where such exist, but otherwise, simply from the course of the sun, moon, and stars, they are able to regulate the hours of the day and night, more or less. They also know when an eclipse of the moon is approaching, attributing this phenomenon to an intention of the sun to destroy his satellite, and they therefore are prepared to make a fearful racket with sticks, <i>mitotes</i>, whistles or horns (<i>fotutos</i>²), shotguns, and other instruments during the eclipse, believing that by so doing they can avoid the catastrophe.</p>
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<p>They sleep from early evening until four oclock in the morning. Their working hours, if it is at all necessary for them to go to work, last from sunrise to sunset. If they are paid, they walk or travel at all hours, even with a load.</p> <p>There are a few among them who are trustworthy and faithful in their contracts, and know how to keep their word and promises; but there is a greater number who absolutely lack all of these virtues, with the exception, perhaps, of the solemn promises they make to their saints, in the fulfilment of which they are scrupulously punctual.</p> <p>They lie easily and very frequently, although they are aware that lies are prohibited. Generally they evade, whenever possible, a truthful answer which is to the point and fully satisfies the question.</p> <p>Their principal vices are lasciviousness among both sexes, and drunkenness among the men. To do them justice though, we might as well acknowledge that it is more than probable that if other races and tribes had to live as they do,</p>	
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	<p>almost naked, in the complete liberty and isolation of country places, all members of one family, males and females, grownups and minors, the married and the single ones sleeping together in those little huts without any, or at best, very scant, knowledge of religion, of modesty and honor, without any fear of the consequences of unchastity to the women, without any intellectual enjoyment, reduced to the merest essentials—to satisfy hunger, thirst, sleep, and the intercourse of the two sexes, might they not be guilty of worse crimes?</p> <p>They are generally accused of being inclined to theft, but as a rule they steal small things of little value, and they are not known to recur to violence or murder to satisfy this tendency.</p> <p>The wealthy are free money-lenders to members of their own tribe and even to those of a different stock, so long as they are satisfied they are not going to be cheated.</p> <p>As in almost all of the most populated part of the Yucatecan peninsula, it is</p>
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<p>impossible to use the plow for tilling the fields; labor is reduced to clearing the tropical growth by burning it in the height of summer and sowing corn or vegetables when the rains commence, to fencing in the fields and weeding them, etc. In order to be able to cultivate at one time as much as possible of their extensive lands, the wealthy Indians pay their day-laborers and volunteers exceedingly well, either in money or in its equivalent in provisions at a price below its actual market value, especially in times of scarcity. They are guided in this by the rule, "This is sweat of my brethren and it is not right that they should pay it too dearly." If those workers are servants of some large ranch and live on the place, they are called <i>Luneros</i>,³ because they give their master their day's work on Mondays in exchange for the land he gives them to cultivate for themselves and for the water he allows them for irrigation of their fields. If they do not, for one reason or another, go to work on that day, he receives one</p>	155
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	<p>real in silver instead. The customary amount of work they really are compelled to do for their master per year is twenty <i>mecates</i> of clearing of untilled land and another twenty of already previously tilled fields. Had the owner to pay for hired labor, this would amount to 12 pesos, 4 reals. In addition to this they have to give him two hours on Saturdays for what they call <i>fagina</i>,⁴ which means work around the house of any kind their patron should order them to do. On some of the ranches the obligatory field-work is reduced to half, but in this case they have to pay their real for Mondays, and always have to do the Saturday's <i>fagina</i>. Any other service or work they may be called on to do is paid or put to their account. By <i>milpa roza</i>,⁵ the first clearing of a field by felling trees, cutting and burning undergrowth, etc., is meant; while the <i>milpa caña</i>⁶ is the clearing of fields that have already been tilled the year before, where the cornstalks are to be split and burnt in order to plant again.</p>
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<p>Those who are employed as cowboys on stock-farms receive a fixed wage, and are not subject to the Monday service nor to the usual field-work. They have to look after the cattle and horses, and they have charge of the draw-wells, the tanks, and drinking pools. They have to attend to irrigation, weeding, and sowing of the truck gardens and orchards, and in general to do all work performed on such ranches either for their conservation and improvement or else in personal service to the owners or for the advantage of its products. It is also their duty to rasp a certain amount of henequen fiber from the agave each day. Their wage is from eight to twelve reals per month and five <i>almudes</i>⁷ of corn per week. Yet neither this latter nor the salary are paid to him as his earnings, but credited to his account against what he draws in provisions or money, so that he actually is always indebted. This, however, is the aim of the owners, in order to hold the man quite secure, even though they know very well that, should the man die</p>	
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	<p>in their service, they would lose that amount. They see to it, however, that he never owes too much. This really constitutes a kind of slavery (peonage) which the men try to avenge by serving as poorly as they can, even to such masters as aim to make their lot easy and agreeable by frequent gifts or bonuses.</p> <p>As a rule the Yucatecan Indians are regarded as being meek, humble, and not easily stirred to ire and cruelty, basing such an opinion on the fact that the most customary punishment among them was a whipping applied with moderation. This kind of punishment did not offend them, if they were informed of the reason why it was meted out to them, nor did they consider it degrading. This characteristic is still noticeable among those who have remained submissive and attached to the white people. It is quite different with those among them who have had to suffer the cruel, atrocious, and protracted martyrdom inflicted by the rebels. They are merciless</p>
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<p>to those who have fallen and still fall into their power, not only those of other tribes, but even of their own, in case they refuse to follow their tracks. They have no pity on either age or sex.</p> <p>The chieftains (<i>caçiques</i>) of today, as well as those who were in office in the past, and the most prominent or wealthy Indians, live just as simply as the rest, without the slightest variation. They all are respected by their subordinates, whom they do not oppress to their own advantage, nor do they demand any services from them without compensation.</p> <p>The Indians are generally gay, light-hearted, gossipy, and fond of tricks, in which they can display strength, agility, and adroitness. They are also very fond of music and song, although not very gifted or talented in the execution of the former especially. At their feasts and dances, which usually are rather tumultuous and poorly organized, they still use some of the old songs in their own language, to the accompaniment of a</p>	
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	<p>little raucous flute, the carapace of a turtle (<i>hicotea</i>), upon which they beat the time with a hart's horn, and of the <i>mitote</i> or <i>taukul</i>. The <i>mitote</i>⁸ is a solid piece of wood of cylindrical shape, one yard long and a third of a yard or a little more in diameter, open at one side almost from one end to the other. This opening is made for the purpose of hollowing out the piece of wood until it is reduced to one inch or a little more in thickness. On the opposite side of the mouth, or opening, they fasten two oblong wings, which, starting at both ends, meet in the center and are separated from one another by a serrated edge. In order to play this instrument, they place it, mouth downward, on the ground, so that the wings remain on the topmost side, and they hit them with two short sticks whose points are covered with an elastic resin that makes them jump, so as not to deaden or confound the sound, which is of such resonance and force that it may be heard at a distance of two leagues.</p>
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<p>Notwithstanding the fact that they regard death almost with indifference, they are timid and cowardly. They never attack the enemy unless they are far superior in number. Still, they are very astute or cunning to plan ambushes and to take advantage of every occasion to surprise their foes, and then fight with great advantage, always accompanying the fighting with frightful shouting. They are generally good marksmen, and they handle the machete⁹ with admirable skill. Whenever they see that they cannot resist the onslaught, they disperse in the woods, but almost instantly come together again at a previously designated meeting-place. They are very fleet of foot and good racers, and of an almost incredible endurance for walking long distances, even with a load of six to eight arrobas [150 to 200 pounds]¹⁰ on their backs. They also can stand a long time without food or drink.</p> <p>They do not excel in writing or in learning to write, although not a few have studied the same length of time and</p>	
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	<p>the same subjects as white men, but they are generally clownish and slow of understanding. It happens very often that after they have been given a clear and oft-repeated order, they will manage to execute it the wrong way, and their memory is so short that, although they attend catechism daily from the age of six or seven until they are twelve or fourteen years of age, there are very many among them who have never been able either to learn it or to commit it to memory. Those, however, who do not evade those lessons and who furthermore attend the preaching of the gospel in their own language, have obtained Catholic ideas about eternity, the last judgment, the glory of God, purgatory, and hell.</p> <p>As the climate of the peninsula is so hot that it exhausts our physical strength and energy, as well as reduces the needs of man who can live almost nude and in the open air and feed himself sparingly, we cannot expect that the Indian should be particularly inclined to work. We</p>
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<p>had the same experience among the other native races, although perhaps their social standard may impose greater necessities. A hut of six or seven yards in length by three or four in width, he builds himself; its walls consist of rows of sticks (which sometimes are covered with a coat of clay) and thatched with palm-leaves or grass, with a door frequently made of reeds twined together. Two or three roughly-woven hammocks of henequen, a machete, perchance a hoe, perhaps a hatchet, and, very rarely, a poor shotgun, are all his furniture. A <i>metate</i> to grind his corn, an earthen pot to boil it, another pot to cook the vegetables and the <i>atole</i>, a <i>comal</i> or flat earthenware plate to cook the corn-cakes or tortillas, a pitcher for water, one or two <i>jicaras</i> of <i>güero</i>,¹¹ an equal number of gourds cut in halves to make drinking vessels and for other purposes, are the eating utensils. A roughly-made, circular stool of half a yard in diameter and about as much in height, and which is used for shaping the tortillas as well</p>	
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	<p>as for a table at which they eat their meals, etc. Fifteen to twenty yards of cotton cloth for the man's clothes, for the wife's, and for the children's, which costs a real per yard, supposing the woman does not spin and weave this herself; two or three coarse needles, a reel of cotton thread, a straw hat, sandals, a handkerchief and a cotton belt; a large straw basket or hamper, a <i>mecapal</i>, and a sack of henequen, complete the list. A trough in which to wash clothes and to bathe themselves; a few pounds of corn which he sows himself, as well as chile, beans, calabazas,¹² <i>camote</i> [sweet potatoes], and <i>jicama</i>,¹³ a bunch of bananas, the leaf of which is used to shape the tortillas, and perhaps a sour orange. His wood he himself cuts in the forest for cooking his meals and also for the fire which he keeps all night in the center of the hut; and lastly a little salt. This is the entire inventory of the necessities of life an Indian family of Yucatan needs, and which suffices even to the wealthy ones in the larger towns and principal</p>
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<p>cities. A great many of them live even without some of the things enumerated. They substitute for corn and vegetables (in case they cannot have them either for not having sown or for having lost the harvest), fruits, roots, and indigenous plants which grow wild all over their country, and which are edible and nourishing. Shall we still ask why the Yucatecan Indian is so indolent, when he has such few and such modest necessities, all of which are so easy to obtain even in the midst of the forests and at a great distance from any other human habitation?</p> <p>He instinctively hates the superiority of the white race, and even of the mestizos, to whom institutions both of long ago and of the present day, customs, greater civilization, and above all the allotment of land, give so many advantages. His almost irresistible inclination carries him into isolation, almost exile, in order to escape from the torment of seeing them and from social duties. He retires where the land is free, where he can till his field wherever he pleases.</p>	
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	<p>This accounts for the often very small settlements of perhaps only a couple of families in the thickets of the forests, provided they find a spring or at least a watering place, even though they might have to travel a considerable distance to provide themselves. But even those who live in larger settlements, in towns of white people, will invariably select the most retired spots in streets in the outskirts (far away from the center of the town) where to build their huts.</p> <p>This isolation in the big forests is the principal cause of his becoming more and more brutish, and it grows with the facility which those same isolated places afford him to satisfy the one and only desire he has acquired—drunkenness. It is there he finds <i>balché</i> and wild honey to brew his <i>pitarrilla</i>. And there are ever some of his own race or mestizos who bring him liquor in exchange for the little corn he may have stored. He gives this up with an improvidence which seems innate, though perhaps we might attribute it to ignorance.</p>
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The Indian never sees the crucifix or a simple cross or the image of some saint displayed anywhere, without going to kneel before it in reverent devotion, nor does he ever meet a priest without raising his hat or hurrying to his side to kiss his hand. He spends half of his earnings in devotional offerings which in the end degenerate into perfect orgies of religious fervor. And yet, in spite of all that, he does not feel the slightest scruple to take as concubines his sisters or even his own daughters.

He does not profess half as much love and devotion to God as he shows toward the images of Saint Anthony of Padua or to the crucifix, both of which are the only ornaments he has in his little hut. He enters a church without bowing to the Holy Sacrament on the main altar, but he goes and kneels before the cross or before Saint Anthony or Saint Francis of Paula, or to any other image to which miracles are ascribed, no matter how poorly executed or how defective such an image might be. On rising from his

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	<p>prostrate position, he bends over to kiss the altar, to touch its board with his cheeks or forehead, then touches the image itself, if such is possible, at least with a twig of some aromatic herb or a flower which he carries home as a relic, paying it the utmost reverence. In addition to this he offers a certain amount of money for candles which he lights before the image of his saint at certain times; he pays for a determinate number of "Salve Reginas" to be sung either in the church or during street processions for his sake, and he offers prayers for the souls of departed relatives.</p> <p>He believes that the souls of the departed return to earth, and he therefore marks with chalk the road from the cemetery to their former abode, that they may not get lost.</p> <p>He has just as deep-rooted a belief in witches and elves, and he is in very great fear of witchcraft. It is impossible to eradicate from his mind the idea that there are men who especially dedicate themselves to inflict this dreadful art on others.</p>
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<p>He fears and respects at the same time an ideal being whom he calls <i>Balám</i> and who, so he says, is the lord of the fields. They all are therefore convinced that these fields cannot be tilled without danger even to their lives if they do not offer him sacrifices before beginning work, such as <i>horchata de maiz</i> (orgeat), which they call <i>sacá</i>; a stew made of corn and turkey, which they call <i>kool</i>; the tortilla with beans, called <i>bulihuah</i>; pitarrilla, and fumes of copal which they use instead of incense. It may safely be stated, therefore, that they adore him like God, but they are always careful that the white people do not see or notice this sacrificial offering for fear of being considered as idolators.</p> <p><i>Alux</i> they call certain apparitions which they believe to exist in the ancient ruins and on the hills, and they say that as soon as it grows dark in the evening these apparitions or ghosts commence to walk around the houses, throwing stones, whistling to the dogs and lashing them when they get near them, which leaves the</p>	
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	<p>poor beasts with a cough that kills them. They pretend that these ghosts can run with great speed, as well backward as forward; that they do not terrify those who look at them. They are wont to enter into the houses to annoy and tease people who are abed in their hammocks, not letting them sleep. They assure us that on ranches where sugar-cane is grown, and just as soon as the grinding machine for the cane is set up, they will go and turn it or they will drive on the horse attached to it, to make it trot around. They say these apparitions are of the size of a little Indian boy of four or five, and that they appear naked, with only a little hat on their heads. This belief is the cause of incalculable loss to antiquarians on account of the almost daily destruction of articles found in the ruins. The Indians will destroy without pity or regard, notwithstanding they may be offered a good price for them, all the images in clay and other objects found on the hills or in subterranean passages, because they are convinced</p>
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<p> that these objects are the ones that become alive at night and come out to walk around. They attribute to the <i>alux</i>, or to their influence, all the diseases they have, as they consider their touch malignant. They say that if these apparitions find anyone asleep they will pass their hands over his face so lightly that the sleeper does not even feel it, but this causes him a fever which incapacitates him for a long time. </p> <p> They also believe in the existence of the <i>Xtabay</i>, the <i>Huahuapach</i>, and the <i>Xbolontharoch bokolhahoch</i>. The first of these apparitions or ghosts may be seen, according to them, in the most isolated spots of a village or settlement in the shape of a woman dressed as a mestizo, combing her beautiful hair with the fruit of a plant they call <i>xaché xtabay</i>. She runs away as soon as anyone approaches. She quickens or retards her flight, either disappearing or allowing the one who pursues her to reach her side. This latter is the case if the one who pursues her is some amorous fellow who thinks </p>	
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	<p>her to be a beautiful maiden. But as soon as he reaches and embraces her, he finds that he holds in his arms a bundle filled with thorns, with legs as thin as those of a turkey, and this gives him such a terrible shock that he has fainting spells and high delirious fevers. The <i>Huahuapach</i> is a giant who may be seen at midnight in certain streets, and he is so tall that an ordinary man barely reaches to his knees. He amuses himself by blocking the traffic, opening his limbs and placing one foot on either side of the street. Should anyone inadvertently try to pass between his feet, he quickly brings his legs together and so closely presses the throat of the poor victim that he finally chokes him. The two other specters or ghosts confine themselves to repeating during the night the noises that have been prevalent in the daytime, and especially the noise made by the spindle-wheel the women use. The other one makes a subterranean noise which sounds like the chocolate-churner, but both these noises terrorize those who hear them.</p>
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<p>There is no end of superstitions among the general mass of the Indians, and the most customary form of fortune-telling is performed by means of a piece of a certain crystal which they call <i>zaztun</i>, which means a clear and transparent stone, and this enables them to see hidden things and also to divine the cause of maladies. Those who arrogate to themselves the title of a diviner are freely consulted, and they receive presents and live a very easy and carefree life. By means of their tricks and great cunning they make the simple and ignorant Indians believe, when they are ill and go to consult them, that through the <i>zaztun</i> they (the sorcerers) have discovered that some ill-intentioned enemy has bewitched them, and that in order to discover the malicious spell, they will have to wake for three nights with an abundant provision of pitarrilla, and aguardiente, food, and lighted candles. Of course, during these three nights they give themselves up to high living and immoderate drinking. While the others, their patients if</p>	
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	<p>we may so call them, are sleeping, or off their guard, they bury within the house or in its immediate vicinity a little wax figure pierced by a thorn through that part of the body where the complaint of their patient lies. When everybody is awake after the last night of vigil, they start certain ceremonies with the <i>zaztun</i>, and finally they go to the spot where they had buried the figure and take it out within sight of everyone, making them believe that that was the witchery. Then they start their treatment of the patient with the first and any herbs they can find, and if by mere chance these cure the ailment, they have naturally made for themselves a great reputation among the ignorant.</p> <p>They also perform a "healing" incantation by offering certain prayers in which they mention the diseases and the different winds to the influence of which they attribute them. They will repeat the Lord's prayer over their patient, the Ave Maria, and the Creed, and sometimes also the prayer to Saint Anthony which</p>
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<p>is included in the Mexican prayer-book. On other occasions they will resort to the <i>kex</i>, which means exchange, and consists in hanging around the house of their patient certain food and drink for the <i>Yuncimil</i>, or Lord of Death, and they believe that by so doing they are able to save, for the time being, the life of the patient by barter.</p> <p>To prevent bees from abandoning the hives and to make them bring home ample honey, and also that their owners may be free from sickness, they will hang in the beehives chocolate cups with <i>sacá</i> or <i>horchata</i> of corn.</p> <p>They also perform the <i>misa milpera</i> (mass on the cornfield), which they call <i>tich</i>, which means offering or sacrifice, and which is celebrated in the following manner: On a barbecue or roast made with little sticks of equal length they place a turkey, and the one who officiates as priest opens the bird's beak and pours pitarrilla down its throat. Then they kill it, and the assistants carry it off to season it. In the meantime they</p>	
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	<p>have been cooking in the earth some large loaves of corn-bread which they call <i>canlahuntaz</i>, which is made of fourteen tortillas or broken bread filled with beans. When all is well flavored and cooked, they place it on the barbecue with several cups filled with pitarrilla. Now again the one acting the part of priest begins to incense it with copal, invoking the Holy Trinity; he repeats the Creed, and, taking some pitarrilla with a holy-water sprinkler, he flings it to the four winds, invoking the four <i>Pahahtunes</i>, lords or custodians of rain. He then returns to the table, and, raising one of the jicaras aloft while those surrounding him kneel, he places the jicara to each one's mouth for a sip. The feast then proceeds and terminates by general eating and drinking, most of all by the one who "officiated," who furthermore takes home with him a goodly supply. They say that the red <i>Pahahtun</i>, who is seated in the east, is Saint Dominick (<i>Santo Domingo</i>); the white one in the north is Saint Gabriel; the black one in the west</p>
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<p>is Saint James; the yellow <i>Pahahtun</i>, said to be female and called by them <i>Xanleox</i>, is seated in the south, and is Mary Magdalen.</p> <p>They very readily take their newborn babies to the baptismal font, and they never refuse to bury their dead in the cemetery.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">WOMEN</p> <p>It is quite astounding how in this climate woman in general passes very rapidly from childhood into womanhood, but this development is still more remarkable in the case of the native Indian woman, prompted no doubt by their mode of life and native customs. It is quite usual to see a little Indian girl of three trot daily to the woods with her parents to help cultivate the fields; very often her excursions extend to neighboring villages, and she seems to make those trips of four and even six leagues with the greatest ease, on foot; and after she has reached five or six years, she even carries her little bundle tied on her back.</p>	
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	<p>They also journey day after day out into the fields in search of firewood, small sticks perhaps not thicker than an inch or a little more, which they call <i>moloch</i>. They search for the wood themselves; they cut it and tie it with two reed or rattan rings, so that they can carry it on their backs. Then they go for water in the morning and again in the evening, having to draw it from wells forty and sixty yards deep, in buckets made of tree-bark. After they have reached the age of eleven or twelve years, they always present themselves for this particular errand, as clean as possible. They take great care to be well-washed and their hair carefully combed, almost as if they were going for a pleasure walk or to some meeting. This is particularly the case on the ranches and farms, and in almost all the villages where they have to provide themselves with water from the communal wells.</p> <p>Between the ages of six and eleven years the little Indian maiden attends, either at the church door or, on big</p>
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<p>haciendas, in the main building, to the teaching of our Christian religion. She goes there with bare head and with her hair hanging loose over her shoulders.</p> <p>All a mother teaches her daughters is how to cook, grind the corn, and shape the tortillas; to make <i>atole</i> and <i>pozole</i>; to wash clothes,—and this very poorly,—at all events. Or rather the girls learn all those things by themselves through mere observation and by helping their mothers in their daily tasks. Some mothers, however, will teach them to spin and weave their rough cotton cloth, to sew their garments, and sometimes even to embroider in a very primitive way.</p> <p>They are usually accompanied by a <i>criada</i>, or housemaid, who is a kind of guardian angel and remains by their side wherever they go. When they meet the man they love, they bow their heads and look down; when speaking of their love, with the big toe of one foot they will draw lines on the ground.</p> <p>While they are within their homes they</p>	
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	<p>wear only a skirt or petticoat of white cotton cloth, which covers them from the waist down to their knees, and in this way they will also present themselves to visitors, unless it is someone absolutely unknown to them, in which case they cross their arms over their breasts to hide them from the stranger. If one meets them in the fields or lies in wait for them over the walls of unmortared stones, they hide immediately, apparently to run away from the presence of a way-farer, notwithstanding they are all exceedingly curious, and the love of gossip is one of their main characteristics. They are tender-hearted and desirous of pleasing, but rather in an uncouth manner, in keeping with what little education they have received. Anyone who asks them something in the name of God is welcome to their compassion and to whatever they can afford to give.</p> <p>Their bodily cleanliness almost borders on superstition, for they consider a person who does not wash her body every day as not quite sane or reasonable. For</p>
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<p>their daily bath they heat a stone they call <i>sintun</i> in the fire, and when it is well heated they throw it into the water they have prepared for their bath.</p> <p>It is very seldom that they are happy in their love affairs, because it is generally their parents who choose their husbands. After the choice is once made, the parents of the prospective husband come to ask for the girl's hand, and if accepted they present an offering of two pesetas, which is known under the name of <i>pochat tancab</i> or <i>buhul</i>. One peseta is for the bride-to-be, the other for her mother. From the day following this ceremony the bridegroom-elect has to furnish daily a fagot of firewood to the house of his future parents-in-law. On her wedding day the bride is dressed in a <i>hipil</i> or loose garment over a petticoat or skirt, the border of which is adorned with ribbons of deep purple; while another wide ribbon of the same shade is tied around her hair. Her head is covered with a cloth of white muslin. She also has to wear shoes, a rosary around</p>	
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	<p>her neck, earrings and fingerrings with big cheap stones. All this jewelry may be borrowed from someone. Once the religious ceremonies over, they all proceed to the banquet, at which the newly married couple and their godfathers (sponsors) are assigned a prominent place. If the girl is not to continue living with her parents, she returns there, nevertheless, and remains for eight days, after which time the godparents come to get her and turn her over to her husband.</p> <p>The husband is the recipient of all the attention and care of his wife. She sews, she washes, and she grinds the corn and makes the tortillas, the <i>pozole</i>, the <i>atole</i>, and all the rest of his food with her own hands. She does all the work of her household; she has to prepare his bath when he comes home from work in the evening. These are her daily duties. In the evening, by the light of the home fire or in the pale light of a tropical moon, she sews or mends his clothes and hers and those of her children. Whenever the husband leaves home to go on a</p>
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<p>journey to some neighboring town or hacienda, the wife has to follow him; she is never allowed, however, to walk by his side, but behind, in his footsteps so to speak. If this husband gets drunk, which occurs rather frequently, and he should fall by the roadside, it is the wife's duty to remain by his side and take care of him until he is able to continue on his way. Neither the scorching sun, nor heavy rains, nor thunderstorms, nor any other danger of the road has power enough to take her away from his side.</p> <p>Even the fact that a woman has just been delivered of a child does not serve as an impediment to her going with the husband; she simply carries the new-born baby with her, either in a piece of cloth on her back or else mounted on one of her hips.</p> <p>If the husband, for one reason or another, is called before a court of justice, he appears accompanied by his wife, simply because it is her duty to go with him and to act as his defender. She does this wonderfully well; she speaks</p>	
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	<p>with such warmth and so fluently, with such courage and enthusiasm, absolutely free from her usual bashful shyness, that one cannot help but admire her. And this absolute devotion on her part to the service of her consort does not weaken even with the ill-treatment she receives at his hands in return, for whenever he is intoxicated he treats her to a liberal whipping—he beats her with his bare hands even, or with a stick.</p> <p>Under such circumstances marital fidelity on the part of the women is not, nor can it be, very deep-rooted, and frequently her seducers triumph over her virtue. However, if the husband surprises them and the woman succeeds in escaping him, he denounces her to the next court of justice and demands that she be given a certain number of blows. She invariably receives them quite resignedly, and after the ordeal returns peacefully to her domestic duties. If the woman is the offended one, she also goes before the judge and demands that her rival be treated to the same punishment.</p>
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<p>Any sickness that might befall them after this misadventure, they unfailingly attribute to witchcraft instigated by their offenders. Witchcraft enjoys such wide popularity among Indian women that there is hardly one among them who cannot relate one and even many cases of the black art in her family. To their minds superstition and credulity go hand in hand, and if one tells them of some strange occurrence ascribed to enchantment, they believe it as readily and as firmly as if it had happened to themselves or as if they had witnessed it. And if one immediately afterward asks them whether it is day or night, they will answer doubtfully, even after having looked at the sun—so wrapped up in the tale have they become.</p> <p>They are very fond of dancing and of music, but they do not perform the former either gracefully or freely, nor have they any variety or art in its execution. They have no talent or gift for playing an instrument either. They are wont to sing in their idle moments or</p>	
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	<p>even while at work, but sadly and in a monotone.</p> <p>The woman who finds herself pregnant works until the very last moment before the child is born, and resumes her tasks immediately afterward, as soon as the baby is attended to. They leave their children so much to themselves, and give them so little care, that they are forever creeping around on the floor in all the mire and dirt, and always completely naked. A diaper and a tiny <i>hipil</i> are all they get for the first few days of their life. Around wrists and ankles they occasionally will tie tiny cords made of blue cotton to protect them, so they say, from epilepsy. Those who can afford to do so will hang a little rosary of beads interspersed with wooden honey-berries around their necks and put tiny earrings in their ears.</p> <p>A pregnant Indian woman will not go outdoors during an eclipse, in order to avoid her child being born with spots or ugly birthmarks on its body; nor do they visit women who have just given birth to</p>
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a child, because it is their belief that the babies would become ill with pains in their bowels.

As soon as the child is six months old they name a godfather and a godmother for the ceremony of opening the baby's limbs for the first time. To this end they set a table with some kind of pottage, and the godfather makes nine rounds of the table, with the baby placed astride one of his hips, which is the way in which it will be carried thereafter by its mother. Then they place in the child's hands, if it is a girl, a needle, a spindle, and the implements with which they weave their cloth; if it is a boy, he is given a hatchet, a machete, and other implements he is expected to use when grown up. These godparents enjoy the same distinction as those at the christening.

The women do not care about knowing their own age, and they keep track of the age of their children only until they have attained about six or eight years; after that they forget it. Although they grow

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	<p>into young manhood or womanhood very quickly, really old age comes late, except in the appearance of the women, who at the age of thirty-five look like women of forty-five.</p> <p>Their most common diseases are pleurisy, intermittent fevers, and jaundice, while fits, fainting spells, and hysterics are exceedingly rare.</p> <p>As a rule the women are abstemious, economical, and very hospitable. They love work, and are fond of raising chickens and turkeys, which they sell in order to enable them to buy what they most need, or else they prepare such fowl for banquets, marriages, christenings, the day of All Souls, or for the novenas which they celebrate for the Holy Cross or the saint of their special devotion. They do not fancy all manner of necessities, nor do they pretend to live on the work of their husbands; rather they work constantly in order to dominate them, and in this they succeed generally, at least to a certain degree. They will upbraid them if they undertake anything without</p>
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<p>asking their advice. They do not forget offenses they may have received until they are avenged. In their old age they are liable to commit small insignificant thefts, and they especially seem to like to become mendicants, even though they do not need to be. They seem to do this as a kind of compensation for what in their earlier days they may have given to the poor.</p> <p>Sentiments of gratitude do not last long. However, we must in this case always except those who were reared in the homes of white people. With few exceptions (when perhaps poor methods or little care in their education, or perchance bad example and ill-treatment dominated), these Indian girls are virtuous, assiduous, disinterested, and very well-disposed toward all the different branches of service and ready to learn whatever they are taught. They are modest, and are fond of dressing themselves nicely and decently. They are so affectionate, true, and grateful, that many a time they grow old in the service</p>	
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	<p data-bbox="332 276 940 775">of one family, and if this family meets with misfortune and perhaps becomes impoverished, they will go to work outside to help support them, of which I could mention many cases. Just the opposite happens with the men, who, although they were educated in a white family from early childhood, and many a time with the same care as the white children, the cases are rare that they do not gradually drift apart, become estranged, give themselves up to vice, and finally forget their benefactors entirely.</p> <p data-bbox="586 810 684 836">DRESS</p> <p data-bbox="332 858 940 1278">The ordinary costume of the men consists of a shirt of white cotton like ours, worn outside the white drawers of the same material, which are wide and reach to the calf of the leg; a belt, white or in colors, is worn around the waist under the shirt; a kerchief; a straw hat, and sandals consisting of only soles which are adjusted to the foot by cords of agave fiber, complete his costume. While at work in the field they take all their</p>
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<p>clothes off and wear only a loin-cloth, which they call <i>huit</i>, consisting of a piece of cotton cloth fastened around the hips, the points passing between the thighs to be fastened to the belt below the navel. From this belt hangs the sheathed machete on the left side.</p> <p>When they go out, the Indian women wear on their heads either a piece of cotton cloth of about half a yard in width by two and a half yards in length, the ends of which hang down the back, or else they tie a red kerchief around the head, a very bright red being their favorite color. A <i>hipil</i> of cotton is fashioned like a wide sacque-coat, with an opening in the center to put the head through, fitting around the neck, having openings on the two sides for the arms. This <i>hipil</i> reaches to about the calf of the leg, falling on a skirt or petticoat, also of white cotton, three or four fingers longer. It is fastened around the waist under the <i>hipil</i>, which falls loosely over it. The hem of both the skirt and the <i>hipil</i> are very often roughly embroidered in blue</p>	
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	<p data-bbox="319 284 923 355">or red thread. For traveling they wear sandals like the men.</p> <p data-bbox="536 391 705 416">LANGUAGE</p> <p data-bbox="319 440 923 898">The Indians of Yucatan speak the Maya language, though somewhat adulterated through contact with Spanish. Several Spanish expressions have gradually crept into their idiom, especially in cities and principal towns where the Indians are in almost constant intercourse with whites and mestizos. Many among them can speak Spanish perfectly well, but as a rule they avoid it, and will answer in Maya to those who speak Spanish to them.</p> <p data-bbox="363 933 888 959">STATURE, PHYSIOGNOMY, COLOR</p> <p data-bbox="319 983 923 1286">Generally speaking, the Indians of Yucatan are of about the same stature as all intertropical races, of a round face, straight black hair, rather coarse, not very pronounced eyebrows, very little beard or none at all, a low narrow forehead, black and expressive eyes, a somewhat flat nose, small but outstanding</p>
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ears, protruding cheekbones, a regular mouth with thin lips and beautiful teeth, a stout neck, broad chest and shoulders, arms, thighs, and limbs of robust and muscular build. Their hands and feet are small, and the toes of their feet stand closer together than the heels. They have no hair on their bodies except on the head. Their color is a copper-brown, darkened through constant exposure to the sun, especially as they go about almost totally naked. The color of the women is therefore much lighter, and this is also the case with such men as have been reared from childhood in homes of the white people. Among the women there are some very pretty ones, slender in form, with an airy but graceful carriage, and a very sweet voice but the hard work to which they are subjected from early childhood causes them to lose their beauty at an early age. There are also some truly fine types among the men.	
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	<p data-bbox="490 304 739 331" style="text-align: center;">SAVAGE TRIBES</p> <p data-bbox="311 352 919 1238">Of real savage tribes there are none in Yucatan. After the greater part of the peninsula, cities as well as villages, had been reconquered from the possession of the Indians who had taken them during their insurrection in 1847, which was general, the most tenacious and unruly ones among them settled in the eastern part of the peninsula, where they have built several towns, the principal one being Chan-Santacruz. From these fastnesses they frequently sally forth to attack and even to raze our absolutely defenseless villages. These attacks cause frightful suffering not only to members of other tribes and races, without regard to sex or age, but they are at times even greater among those of their own race, who at one time or another have either absolutely refused to join their ranks, or, after following their lead for some time, have deserted, and returned to live in peace among the white people.</p> <p data-bbox="344 1241 917 1278">Another and by far the most numerous</p>
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<p>band of those rebellious Indians went to settle in the south of the peninsula, and by virtue of the treaty they celebrated with General Vega have given up all hostilities, although they remain in complete independence of national as well as of state authorities, and in peaceful business intercourse with this city (Mérida), and also with Campeche and other points in close proximity to their abodes. Colonel Juan Sanchez Navarro drew a map, which he presented, together with his report, before the government of Yucatan on April 12 of the present year, on which map he gives an approximate idea of the localities on the peninsula still occupied by rebellious Indians who maintain a hostile attitude and those who have agreed to peaceful intercourse. The first mentioned he calls the eastern group, and the last named the southern one.</p> <p style="text-align: right;">SANTIAGO MENDEZ.</p> <p><i>Mérida, October 24th, 1861.</i></p>	
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	<p data-bbox="397 304 864 331">NOTE BY ANTONIO GARCÍA Y CUBAS</p> <p data-bbox="329 355 938 580">After having written about several groups of aborigines who inhabit the central part of the republic, I wish to extend these notes with the aid of documents in my possession to the Indians of Tabasco and Chiapas.</p> <p data-bbox="329 587 946 1278">The customs, habits, and inclinations of all those Indians in general do not, with any certainty, evoke any hope for the improvement of their race and their subsequent utility and usefulness to the nation. The task I have set for myself is a very delicate one, and there may exist a great many people who will attribute to lack of patriotism the frank statement of many defects in our population; but I observe that our nation is not moving toward its aggrandizement with the alacrity and speed which the progressives among the authorities wish to see. Therefore I consider it necessary to study and point out the defects. I do not wish it to appear as if the conceptions expressed in these lines were imputations</p>
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<p>of my own imagination, and I wish to state, therefore, that whatever is said in this report is extracted from official documents in my possession.</p> <p>The aborigines living in the towns and villages of the district of Jalpa, and the same may be said of the rest of the Indians of Tabasco, despite their docility, prefer the wild, uncivilized life of the mountains to the advantages of communal life, if by so doing they are able to evade all public responsibilities and duties. They come together only for their religious festivities, and on all such occasions they are given to drunkenness and gluttony to such a degree that they contract very serious diseases which in a great many cases hasten their demise. With very few exceptions they live in complete vagrancy, and they propagate without respecting any degree of blood relationship. They insist on curing their diseases with all sorts of roots and plants, which, however, mostly impair their health, causing great mortality, especially among children. This may be</p>	
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	<p>regarded as the principal cause why very few among their number reach the age of fifty years.</p> <p>The aborigines who inhabit the borders to the river Usumacinta and its tributaries are for the greater part natives of Yucatan, and are like all the rest of their kind, very fond of drinking. The Indians of Tenosique, about forty years ago, were known as very honest and trustworthy, but their intercourse with the rebels and emigrants from Yucatan have demoralized them to a great extent.</p> <p>These and other defects, with but a few honorable exceptions, are revealed in the documents treating of the Indians of the district of Comitán, state of Chiapas, which, however, I am not going to enumerate, so as to avoid repetitions, and by so doing make this article altogether too long.</p> <p>All the above mentioned shows the decadence and general degeneration of the aborigines, as compared with the very scant elements of vitality and vigor that might help in the movement toward</p>
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<p>progress in our republic. The same customs, the same reserve and diffidence which characterized the Indian of colonial days is manifestly still his today under the so-called protective laws of the republic, which barely give him the title of citizen. Yet, as I have stated before, I do not belong to those who despair of his ultimate civilization, and I believe that the most efficacious means of effecting this is by crossing his breed or race by way of colonization, introducing other nations and elements to come in contact with him.</p> <p>That this efficacious means of stopping the infinite defects which retard, if they do not hinder, the natural progress of our nation, has not been attained, to my idea, lies in the fact that so far no protective laws have existed which, founded on prevision, afford guaranties and procure work for colonists. There are no laws that fix the boundaries of the immense stretches of waste-land within our country, nor a careful study of climate, geology, and production. There is not, to</p>	
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	<p>my knowledge, any report establishing the best methods of making all our territory productive either through sales or the renting of all lands that cannot be tilled by their original owners. Our own elements, as we have tried to demonstrate in this article, are either heterogeneous or too scarce and insufficient to accomplish the task of carrying the nation onward on the road of aggrandizement. Hence it is, according to my idea, colonization, and colonization alone, that may serve as the final remedy for our national ills.</p> <p>If we had today laws such as I have had reference to, we would at this very moment see European colonists arrive continually, attracted by hopes of a splendid future which our fertile soil and our salubrious climate offer to the industrious and enterprising man. Our population would increase daily at the same pace with the United States of Brazil and Buenos Aires, where European immigration forms an element of prosperity.</p> <p>It remains for our government to fix in</p>
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<p>the most decisive way the answer to this question in the interest of the future of our country.</p> <p>ANTONIO GARCÍA Y CUBAS.</p> <p>Mexico, <i>May 1st, 1870.</i></p>	
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NOTES ON THE SUPERSTI-
TIONS OF THE INDIANS
OF YUCATAN

INFORME CONTRA IDOLORVM CVLTORES
DEL OBISPADO DE YVCATAN.
MADRID, 1639

BY PEDRO SANCHEZ DE AGUILAR



THE abuses and superstitions in which those Indians of Yucatan believe and the abuses which they cherish are mostly inherited from their forebears, and are as numerous as they are varied in kind. I am including in this report all I was able to investigate, so that they may enable the curates to disapprove them publicly, and in their sermons to reprimand the Indians on account of them.

They believe in dreams which they try to interpret to suit the occasion.

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<p>On hearing the cawing (or cackle) of a bird they call <i>kipxosi</i>, they interpret it to mean poor success to whatever enterprise they are engaged in at the time. They consider it as a bad omen or foreboding, as the Spaniards do with the female fox or the cuckoo.</p> <p>If, while the Indian is traveling, he stumbles over a big stone among a pile which had been dug up to build or level a road, he venerates it by placing on the top of it a little twig, brushing his knees with another one in order not to get tired. This is a tradition of his forefathers.</p> <p>If he happens to be traveling near sunset, and he fears that he will arrive late or even at night at the village he is bound for, he will drive a stone into the first tree he finds, believing that this will retard the setting of the sun. Another superstition to the same effect is the pulling out of some of his eyelashes and blowing them toward the sun. These are superstitions that came down to him by tradition from his forebears.</p> <p>During lunar eclipses they still believe</p>	
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	<p>in the tradition of their forefathers to make their dogs howl or cry by pinching them either in the body or ears, or else they will beat on boards, benches, and doors. They say that the moon is dying, or that it is being bitten by a certain kind of ant which they call <i>xubab</i>. Once, while at the village of Yalcobá, I heard great noises during an eclipse of the moon which occurred that night, and in my sermon the next day I tried to make them understand the cause of the eclipse in their own language, according to the interprétation from the Philosopher: "The lunar eclipse is the interposing of the earth between the sun and the moon with the sun on top and the moon in the shadow." With an orange to represent the sphere of Sacrobosco, and two lit candles on either side, I explained to them plainly and at sight what an eclipse really was. They seemed astonished, and quite happy and smiling, cured of their ignorance and that of their forefathers. I gave orders to their chieftain (caçique) that he should punish in the future all</p>
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<p>those who made a noise on such occasions.</p> <p>They also call certain old Indian shamans when a woman is in labor, and, with words of their former idolatry, he will enchant her and hear her confession. They do the same with some other patients. I could not find out all about this, for which I am very sorry.</p> <p>There are some Indian medicine-men who, with similar enchantment, are supposed to cure the bites or stings of snakes, especially of the rattlesnakes, of which there are a great many here. The victims of such bites are sometimes delirious, and often the flesh around the wound will decay until they die. The remedy the wizards give them, according to what I heard, is to make them eat human excrement or drink the juice of lemons, or else they will take a domestic fowl and place its beak on the wound, and have it suck in this way the poison of the snake-bite. The hen or chicken will of course die, and they immediately replace it by another live one, and repeat that until all the poison is absorbed.</p>	
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	<p>When they build new houses, which occurs every ten or twelve years, they will not inhabit nor even enter them unless the old wizard has been brought even from a distance of one, two, or three leagues to bless it or consecrate it with his stupid enchantment. This, however, I have only heard, and I am now sorry never to have recorded it personally.</p> <p>They are fortune-tellers, and they perform this feat with a heap of grained corn, counting always two and two grains, and if it comes out in even numbers, the fortune-teller will continue counting one, two, or three times over until it comes out uneven, bearing all the while in mind the main facts or reason for which he had been called on to tell the fortune, <i>vera gratia</i>. Once a girl ran away from home, and her mother, like any true Indian woman would have done in a similar case, immediately called one of those fortune-tellers, who drew lots on all the different roads until the fortune told of or pointed to a certain road the girl had taken and where she would be found. They sent</p>
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<p>out to look for her and found her in the village to which that road led. I punished that wizard, who was a native of a village at one league from Valladolid, and while I examined him with patience and slowly, I found that all the words he used in that so-called fortune-telling, while he counted the grains of corn, were no more than "Odd or even, odd or even" (<i>huylan nones, caylan pares</i>). He could not even tell me whether those words were meant as an invocation to Satan. In fact, he seemed not to know what they meant, for this particular wizard was a very great simpleton, almost imbecile.</p> <p>In this city of Mérida it is publicly known that there exist several Indian sorceresses (witches), who by using certain words can open a rosebud before it is time for its opening, which is given to the one they wish to attract to their lascivious desire. They let him smell of it, or they place it under his pillow; but should the person who gives it to him smell its perfume, she is said invari-</p>	
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	<p>ably to lose her mind for a long while, calling to the one she expected to inhale it, and in whose name the rose was opened by the witch—a worthy matter which serves as medicine as well as punishment, especially if it hits the double mark. It has also been assured that the Indian women of this city are wont to throw a certain enchantment into the chocolate which is ready for their husbands to drink, and by it they become bewildered. This I only heard however, and I could not vouchsafe its truth.</p> <p>I will also note here what I saw as a child, and that is that they used to drown in a hole young puppies of a breed of dogs they raise as pets as well as for food. These are a kind of dogs, with but little or no hair at all, which they call <i>tzomes</i>.¹⁴ It is an old Jewish dogma of <i>cosher</i>. See the Apostle, <i>ut abstineant se a suffocatis</i>, etc.—that they abstain from the food of animals dying by smothering or any kind of natural death.</p>
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OF THE RELIGIOUS BELIEFS OF THE INDIANS OF YUCATAN IN 1545

REPORT OF FRANCISCO HERNANDEZ



WHEN our people discovered the kingdom of Yucatan they found crosses there, and one cross in particular which was made of stone and mortar, of a height of ten palms, and was erected in the center of a court or enclosure, very prominent and fair, and crowned with battlements; it stands alongside of a sumptuous temple and is very much frequented by a great number of people. This is on the island of Cozumel, which lies near the mainland of Yucatan. It is said that this cross was really adored as the God of Water or Rain; as often as there was a drought they went to sacrifice quail before it, as will be told later. When asked whence or

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	<p>through whom they had first heard of that sign, they replied that a very handsome man had once passed through their country and that he left it with them, that they might always remember him by it. Others, it is said, answered that it was because a man more resplendent than the sun had died on that cross. This is referred to by Peter Martyr in chapter I of his Fourth Decade.</p> <p>I shall refer to another tale or report which is very unusual and new regarding the Indies, and which until now has not been found in any other part of them. As this kingdom, on account of its close proximity to it, comes within the jurisdiction of my bishopric of Chiapa, on one of my visits I disembarked and remained at a very healthy port. I met there a clergyman, good, so it seemed, of mature age and honest, and [one] who knew the language of the natives from having lived there several years. As it was necessary for me to return to my episcopal residence, I nominated him as my vicar, and ordered and entreated</p>
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<p>him to travel inland and visit the Indians there and preach to them in a certain way in which I instructed him. After a certain number of months (I even believe it was one year), he wrote to me that on his trip he had met a principal lord or chief, and that on inquiring of him concerning his faith and the ancient belief all over his realm, he answered him that they knew and believed in God who was in heaven; that that God was the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. That the Father is called by them <i>Içona</i>,¹⁵ and that he had created man and all things. The Son's name was <i>Bacab</i>,¹⁶ who was born from a maiden who had ever remained a virgin, whose name was <i>Chibirias</i>,¹⁷ and who is in heaven with God. The Holy Ghost they called <i>Echuac</i>.¹⁸ They say that <i>Içona</i> means the great Father. . . <i>Bacab</i>, who is the son, they say killed <i>Eopuco</i>,¹⁹ and flagellated him, crowning him with a crown of thorns, and placed him with arms extended on a pole, not meaning that he should be nailed to it, but tied</p>	
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	<p>(and in order to show him how, the chief extended his own arms), where he finally died. He was dead for three days, but on the third day he returned to life and went up to heaven, and he is there with his Father. After this immediately came <i>Echuac</i>, which is the Holy Ghost, and he filled the earth with all it needs. When asked what <i>Bacab</i> or <i>Bacabab</i> meant, he said it meant the son of the great Father, and that <i>Echuac</i> meant merchant. And very good merchandise did the Holy Ghost bring to this earth, for he filled men with all their faculties, and divine and abundant graces. <i>Chibirias</i> means mother of the Son of the great Father. He added, furthermore, that at a certain time all men would have to die, but he did not seem to know anything of the resurrection of the flesh. When asked how they came to know all these things, the chief replied that the lords taught their sons, and in this manner it descended from one age to another. They also assert that in olden times, long ago, there came to the land</p>
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<p>twenty men (he gave the names of fifteen of them), but because they were very poorly written, and furthermore as they do not have great importance for this report, I do not copy them. Of the five others the vicar says he could not obtain their names. The principal one was called <i>Cocolcan</i>,²⁰ and they called this one the God of all kinds of fevers. Two of the others are the Gods of fish, still another two the Gods of farms and homesteads [landed properties], still another was the God of Lightning, etc. They all wore long gowns or mantles, and sandals for their feet. They had long beards, and wore nothing to cover their heads. These men ordained that the people should go to confession and should fast, and some people fasted on Fridays because on that day <i>Bacab</i> had died. The name of this day (Friday) is <i>Himis</i>,²¹ and they honor it in their devotion on account of the death of <i>Bacab</i>. The chiefs (caciques) know all the particulars of those things, but the common people believe only in the three persons,</p>	
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	<p><i>Içona</i> and <i>Bacab</i> and <i>Echhuac</i>, and in <i>Chibirias</i>, the mother of <i>Bacab</i>, and also [in] the mother of <i>Chibirias</i> called <i>Hischen</i>,²² whom we consider to have been Saint Ann. All this above stated is from information I have received in a letter from that reverend father whose name is Francisco Hernandez, and I still have his letter among my papers. He also stated that he took the said chief to a Franciscan friar who lived near there, and that the cacique repeated all he said before the friar, and they remained both greatly surprised at it. If all those things just stated are true, it would seem that that part of the land had been (long ago) informed about our Holy Faith, for in no other part of the Indies have we ever found such news. It is true that in Brazil, which belongs to the Portuguese, it was stated that traces of the wanderings of Saint Thomas the Apostle had been discovered, but such news could not very well fly over through the air, and furthermore it is quite certain that the country and kingdom of Yucatan give us more</p>
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<p>special and singular cases to ponder over, and of far greater antiquity, if we think of the great, exquisite, and admirable way the most ancient buildings are constructed, also of a certain lettering in queer characters which are not found anywhere else. Finally these are the secrets which only God knows.</p>	
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	<p style="text-align: center;">GLOSSARY</p> <p><i>Alux, h'lox, or more fully h'loxadob.</i> According to Brinton the meaning is "the strong clay images." He writes in his paper, The Folk-lore of Yucatan, that "the derivation of this word is from <i>kat</i>, which, in the Diccionario Maya-Español del Convento de Motul (MS. of about 1580), is defined as 'la tierra y barro de las olleras,' but which Perez in his modern Maya dictionary translates 'ollas ó figuras de barro'; <i>ob</i> is the plural termination; <i>lox</i> is strong, or the strength of anything; <i>h'</i> or <i>ah</i>, as it is often written, is the rough breathing which in Maya indicates the masculine gender."</p> <p><i>Atole.</i> Nahuatl <i>atolli</i>, or <i>atlaolli</i>. Cornmeal gruel.</p> <p><i>Balám.</i> Tiger or mountain-lion. The word was applied also to a class of priests and to kings as a title of distinction.</p>
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<p><i>Balché.</i> A fermented liquor made from wild honey and the bark of a tree.</p> <p><i>Buhul, buuhul.</i> A section of a stick of wood split lengthwise in the middle.</p> <p><i>Bulihuah.</i> Tortillas made of corn-meal and beans. From <i>bul</i> or <i>buul</i>, beans; <i>uah</i>, tortilla.</p> <p><i>Caçique.</i> Antillean word meaning a lord or chief.</p> <p><i>Camote.</i> Nahuan <i>camotl</i>, a kind of sweet-potato.</p> <p><i>Canlahuntaz.</i> Large loaves of native bread. From <i>canlahun</i>, fourteen; <i>taz</i>, tiers, or layers.</p> <p><i>Comal.</i> Nahuan <i>comalli</i>, clay griddle.</p> <p><i>Hipil.</i> Nahuan <i>huipilli</i>, a woman's chemise.</p> <p><i>Huahuapach, ua ua pach.</i> According to Brinton (op. cit.) it means giant crab.</p> <p><i>Huit, with.</i> Loin-cloth.</p> <p><i>Jicara.</i> Nahuan <i>xicalli</i>, corrupted into <i>jicara</i>, a calabash.</p> <p><i>Kex.</i> To barter or change; also used as a name for ex votos placed on altars.</p> <p><i>Kipxosi, kipchoh, cipchoh.</i> "A diviner bird among the Indians."</p>	
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	<p><i>Kool.</i> A dish prepared by cooking corn with chicken.</p> <p><i>Mecapal.</i> Nahuatl <i>mecapalli</i>, leathern band used over the forehead for carrying burdens.</p> <p><i>Mecate.</i> Nahuatl <i>mecatl</i>, rope or cord made of maguey fiber.</p> <p><i>Metate.</i> Nahuatl <i>metatl</i>, a stone on which corn is ground.</p> <p><i>Milpa.</i> Nahuatl <i>milli</i>, cultivated land; <i>pan</i>, a postposition.</p> <p><i>Mitote.</i> Nahuatl <i>mitotli</i>, a dance.</p> <p><i>Moloch.</i> Brush-wood or kindling.</p> <p><i>Pahatun, pah ah tun.</i> The four <i>pa ah tunes</i>, the lords of rains, are, according to Brinton, "identical with the winds, and the four cardinal points from which they blow. . . . The name <i>pahatun</i> is of difficult derivation, but it probably means 'stone, or pillar, set up or erected.'"</p> <p><i>Pib.</i> An underground oven.</p> <p><i>Pochat tancab.</i> According to the author of this report the phrase has the same signification as <i>buhul</i>: the offering made to a girl by a prospective bridegroom.</p>
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<p>The words seem to be: <i>poc</i>, to wash or rub; <i>hat</i>, numerical termination serving to count split-wood; <i>tancab</i>, outside the house, or in the patio.</p> <p><i>Pozole</i>. Nahuan <i>pozolatl</i>, or <i>poçol atl</i>, a drink of cooked corn.</p> <p><i>Sacá, zacá</i>. Orgeat of corn; from <i>za</i>, corn gruel; <i>cá</i>, or <i>caa</i>, duplicative particle.</p> <p><i>Sintun, zintun</i>. A heated stone for heating water for bathing purposes. From <i>zin</i>, to haul, girdle or encircle; <i>tun</i>, stone.</p> <p><i>Taukul, tunkul</i>. A wooden drum.</p> <p><i>Tich</i>. A mass celebrated in planted fields. See Brinton, op. cit.</p> <p><i>Xaché xtabay</i>. According to the author, the name of a plant. The first word, <i>xaché</i>, is evidently <i>xach</i> or <i>xachah</i>, to comb. <i>Xtabay</i> may be <i>x-</i>, a prefix, indicating feminine gender; <i>tabal</i>, to deceive.</p> <p><i>Xanleox, x'kanleox</i>. From <i>x-</i>, prefix denoting feminine gender; <i>kan</i>, yellow; <i>lox</i>, to strike with the closed fist. Brinton simply gives "yellow goddess" as the equivalent.</p>	
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	<p><i>Xbolonthahroch bokolhahoch</i>, <i>X bolon thoroch bokol</i> (or <i>bookol</i>) <i>h'otoch</i>. From <i>x-</i>, prefix denoting feminine gender; <i>bolon</i>, nine; <i>thoroch</i>, sound of a spindle revolving in its shaft. Brinton says, "The name therefore signifies 'the female imp who magnifies the sound of the spindle.'" <i>Bokol</i> or <i>bookol</i>, to stir; <i>h</i> or <i>ah</i>, to indicate the rough breathing which in Maya denotes the masculine gender.</p> <p><i>Xhantumbú</i>, <i>xkantumbub</i>, or <i>xkantun bub</i>. A small plant used for medicinal purposes.</p> <p><i>Xtabay</i>. See etymology under <i>xaché xtabay</i>.</p> <p><i>Xulab</i>. Spelled by Sanchez de Aguilar <i>xubab</i>. An ant which attacks beehives.</p> <p><i>Yuncimil</i>, <i>Yumcimil</i>. The God of Death; from <i>yum</i>, universal father or lord; <i>cimil</i>, death.</p> <p><i>Zastun</i>. A quartz crystal; from <i>zaz</i>, clear; <i>tun</i>, stone.</p>
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BIBLIOGRAPHY	221
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	<p data-bbox="612 272 667 300" style="text-align: center;">1865</p> <p data-bbox="339 316 943 408">CARRILLO, CRESCENCIO. Estudio historico sobre la raza indigena de Yucatan. Vera Cruz, 1865, 26 pp.</p> <p data-bbox="612 411 667 438" style="text-align: center;">1882</p> <p data-bbox="339 454 943 515">BANCROFT, HUBERT HOWE. The native races of the Pacific states. 5 volumes, San Francisco.</p> <p data-bbox="366 518 943 659">In the several volumes of this work Bancroft has assembled most of the early accounts of the manners and customs of the Maya of Yucatan. He was unaware of the existence of the report by Mendez which forms the basis of our publication.</p> <p data-bbox="612 694 667 721" style="text-align: center;">1883</p> <p data-bbox="339 737 943 828">BRINTON, DANIEL G. The Folk-lore of Yucatan. <i>Folk-Lore Journal</i>, London, vol. 1, part viii, pp. 1-13.</p> <p data-bbox="366 831 943 940">This study is based largely on the report of Baeza, with additions from the article of Estanislao Carrillo, and manuscript notes of several other persons, notably those of Carl Hermann Berendt.</p> <p data-bbox="339 943 943 1037">CARRILLO Y ANCONA, CRESCENCIO. Historia de Welinna. Leyenda Yucateca. Segunda edición, Mérida, 52 pp.</p> <p data-bbox="394 1040 795 1067">The first edition was printed in 1862.</p> <p data-bbox="612 1102 667 1129" style="text-align: center;">1895</p> <p data-bbox="339 1145 943 1272">BRINTON, DANIEL G. A Primer of Mayan hieroglyphs. <i>Publications of the University of Pennsylvania, Series in Philology, Literature, and Archæology</i>, vol. III, no. 2.</p>
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<p style="text-align: center;">1905</p> <p>REJÓN GARCÍA, MANUEL. Supersticiones y leyendas Mayas. Mérida, 1905.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">NOTES</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. For the meaning of this and of other Indian words, consult the glossary. 2. <i>Fotuto</i> is a musical instrument used by the Carib Indians and also by the negroes of the Antilles. 3. <i>Luneros</i> are Monday-workers. 4. <i>Fagina--faena</i>, manual labor. 5. <i>Milpa roza</i> is, literally, field cleared of underbrush and ready for planting. 6. <i>Milpa caña</i>, literally cane field. 7. An <i>almud</i> is a dry measure equivalent to twelve English bushels. There seems to be an error in the quantity here. 8. The author here seems to have confused the meaning of the word <i>mitote</i> (see glossary). In Yucatan the instrument he describes is called <i>tunkul</i>. 9. The <i>machete</i> is the large knife which the Indian men of Yucatan invariably carry with them. 10. The <i>arroba</i> is the Spanish measure of twenty-five pounds. 11. We have been unable to find the meaning of the word <i>güero</i>. 12. <i>Calabaza</i> is the Spanish for pumpkin; 	
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	<p>but the Mexican pumpkin is different from that raised in our latitudes.</p> <p>13. <i>Jicama</i> seems to be a local word not in the dictionary.</p> <p>14. <i>Tzomes</i>, according to Sanchez de Aguilar, is the name applied to hairless dogs. The common appellation is <i>kúkbil</i>, or <i>kikbil</i>. <i>Tzom</i> in Maya means a horn, also a proboscis. The word <i>tzomes</i> is close to <i>tzimin</i>, pl. <i>tzimines</i>, the name of the tapir, which has an elongate snout. Alonzo Poncé who was in Yucatan in 1588, speaks of tapirs being called by the natives <i>tzimines</i>, and further states that they call horses by the same name, a definition to be found in the Maya dictionary of Pio Perez.</p> <p>15. The names to which we call attention in notes 15 to 22 represent, with a single exception, in misspelled form, well-known Mayan deities. It is interesting to note the early influence of the Spaniards on the religious beliefs of the Maya, as evidenced by the interpretation given to Father Hernandez by the old caçique. There is a curious mixture of old and new in the account. Dr Seler has identified the various deities spoken of, and a description of their attributes will be found in Brinton's Primer of Mayan Hieroglyphs. Içona is <i>Itzamna</i>, chief of the beneficent gods, the personification of the East. According to Brinton the name means "the dew or moisture of the morning." Brinton writes, "He was said to have been the creator of men, animals, and plants,</p>
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and was the founder of the culture of the Mayas. He was the first priest of their religion, and invented writing and books."

16. According to Brinton the *Bacabs*, or *Chacs*, were the offspring of *Itzamna* and his consort *Ix-Chel* (spoken of by the cacique as *Hischen*).

17. *Chibirias* is identified by Seler as *Ix-chebel-yax*, who, according to Brinton, was "the inventress of painting and of colored designs on woven stuffs."

18. *Echuac* is *Ek Chua*, said by Landa to be the god of the cacao planters, hence, as cacao-beans were the medium of exchange, the god of merchants, as here related. It is difficult to understand the confusion by which this god has been interwoven in Christian beliefs as the Holy Ghost.

19. *Eopuco* has been interpreted by Seler as *Ah uoh puc*, or *Ah-puch*, the God of Death, or God of Evil. Brinton believes that "these words mean the Undoer, or Spoiler, apparently a euphemism to avoid pronouncing a name of evil omen." In modern Maya he is plain *Yum cimil*, lord of death.

20. *Cocolcan* is *Cuculcan*, or *Kukulcan*, the same as the Nahuan *Quetzalcoatl*. *Kukulcan* was the feathered or winged serpent god, a deity of culture and kindliness.

21. *Himis* is *Imix*, the name of the first day of the twenty-day month of the Maya calendar.

22. *Hischen* is *Ix-Chel*, the consort of *Itzamna*.

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INDIAN NOTES
AND MONOGRAPHS

EDITED BY F. W. HODGE



A SERIES OF PUBLICA-
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AMERICAN ABORIGINES

VOL. X

NEW YORK
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**A STONE EFFIGY PIPE
FROM KENTUCKY**

**BY
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VOL X



No. 7

A SERIES OF PUBLICA-
TIONS RELATING TO THE
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A WOODEN IMAGE FROM KENTUCKY

BY

GEORGE H. PEPPER

NEW YORK
MUSEUM OF THE AMERICAN INDIAN
HEYE FOUNDATION

1921

**A WOODEN IMAGE FROM
KENTUCKY**

**BY
GEORGE H. PEPPER**



FRONT VIEW OF THE KENTUCKY IMAGE

A WOODEN IMAGE FROM KENTUCKY

BY GEORGE H. PEPPER



PREHISTORIC wooden images of human form from the eastern and central parts of the United States are practically unknown in the collections of American museums. Salts cave and Mammoth cave in Kentucky, wherein so many perishable objects of Indian manufacture have been found, have yielded no examples of an art that must have been widespread and highly developed before the discovery of America.

The Key Marco culture of the Gulf coast of Florida has furnished a number of carved wooden figures, but no general deductions can be drawn from the scattered objects that have survived and which give us but a faint idea of what

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	<p>this particular phase of Indian art must have been when at its zenith.</p> <p>The late Col. Bennett H. Young, of Louisville, was fortunate in obtaining a wooden image of human form that had been found in his own state. In his <i>Prehistoric Men of Kentucky</i>¹ he states:</p> <p>“It is the only prehistoric image in Kentucky of wood that has been thoroughly preserved, and the manner of its making gives evidence that it had been executed by artists who antedated the historic period. Its form resembles the stone images, as it is in a sitting posture with a flat base and was built so it would stand alone, and the pose of the arms is very much like that found in the images.”</p> <p>In 1874, Lewis Collins, in his <i>History of Kentucky</i>,² published what is probably the first description of this image. He says:</p> <p>“In the winter of 1869, L. Farmer, of Pineville, was hunting a fox (that had caught his turkey) among the cliffs that surround Pineville, and found a wooden image of a man, about two feet high, in a sitting posture, with no legs. It looked as though it might have been made by the Indians centuries ago. It is a good imitation of a man, and is made of yellow</p>
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<p>pine. Some of the features, part of its nose and ears, are obliterated by time, although found in a place where it was kept entirely dry. One ear is visible, with a hole pierced in it as though once ornamented with jewelry. It is a great curiosity to travellers. The oldest inhabitants can tell nothing about it."</p> <p>This specimen is now the property of the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, and an idea of its form may be gained from the accompanying illustrations. Whether found in a cave or in a rock-shelter, the image must have been protected from the elements, as its form is well preserved, although the surface has deteriorated through weathering, and the features and other more delicate parts of the carving have suffered in consequence. From the primitive point of view, the treatment is masterful, but the sculptor failed to represent the lower part of the body, the hips and legs being depicted by an angular block which forms the supporting base. Owing to the fact that no similar figures in wood are available for comparison, it is impossible</p>	
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	<p>to state whether this particular treatment was commonly employed, but judging from the modeling of similar figures in pottery and stone, the carvings in wood no doubt reflected similar individual peculiarities and taste.</p> <p>Fortunate indeed is the student in the possession of this striking example of the early art of woodcarving among the aborigines of America, but it is unfortunate that the features have suffered to such an extent in the general surface decomposition. The eyes, nose, and mouth of the less destructible figures mentioned show such a range of featural variance that the inability to determine these features in the wooden image precludes the possibility of adequate comparison. The loss of the original surface has also obliterated all tool marks, making it impossible also to determine whether stone or metal implements were used in its production: thus one of the most tangible evidences of age has vanished.</p> <p>The figure is probably of yellow pine, as Collins states, and is 25½ inches in</p>
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PROFILE VIEW OF THE KENTUCKY IMAGE



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<p>eight. The base is angular, and on the front and the sides is uncarved; it is 9 inches broad at the front, and is rounded to the back portion, which is $\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide; the height of the base at front is $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches, and $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches in the rear. The trunk is squared, and at the base is $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches broad and $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches thick. The mammæ are not represented, but the chest is rounded and is made prominent by a flattening of the abdominal region that begins $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches from the upper part of the base. The neck is practically cylindrical and 3 inches in diameter, the space from the shoulder to the lower part of the ear being $3\frac{1}{8}$ inches. The head is dolicocephalic in form, and the face is not flattened, as is the case with certain one figures of the same general type. There remains but a suggestion of the eyes, nose, and mouth, not enough to determine what the features had been. Portions of the ears remain, that of the right one showing the general form and size. This evidently is the one that</p>	
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	<p>was complete and perforated when the figure was found, as mentioned in Collins' account, above quoted. The back of the trunk has a very pronounced ridge extending from a point a few inches below the neck to the base piece, this of course being an accentuation of the vertebral column. At the bottom of the back part of the base-block the surface has been roughly carved and was probably intended for the median line and rounded portions of the buttocks. The arms are carved in relief and are well formed; the shoulders are gracefully rounded, and the bend of the elbow, as well as the proportionate size of the upper and lower parts of the arms, were given thoughtful consideration by the carver. The hands, with extended fingers, rest upon the sides of the base, which approximates the thighs. The fingers are carved in high relief and the right hand is well preserved.</p> <p>Although there remain but few pre-historic wooden images, either large or small, the early narratives contain de-</p>
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REAR VIEW OF THE KENTUCKY IMAGE



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<p>scriptions that prove their existence and use. From these accounts it would seem that they were employed in many ways by the natives of the eastern and southern parts of the United States.</p> <p>One of the earliest references to images or idols of wood is that given in 1590 in Hariot's <i>Narrative</i>.³ In the description of "Ther Idol Kiwasa," which was kept in the sacred house of the village of Secotan on Pamlico river, North Carolina, it states that—</p> <p>"The people of this cuntrie haue an Idol, which they call KIWASA: yt is carued of woode in lengthe 4. foote whose heade is like the heades of the people of Florida, the face is of a flesh colour, the brest white, the rest is all blacke, the thighes are also spottet with whitte. He hath a chayne abowt his necke of white beades, betweene which are other Rownde beades of copper which they esteeme more then golde or siiuer. This Idol is placed in the temple of the towne of Secotam, as the keper of the kings dead corpses. Somtyme they haue two of thes idoles in theyr churches, and sometime 3, but neuer aboue, which they place in a darke corner wher they shew terrible."</p> <p>In Hariot's plate XVIII, under the</p>	
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	<p>caption "Their dances which they use att their hyghe feastes," there are represented seven posts, which are higher than the dancers. Each has a human head carved at the upper end, from which the post tapers to the point where it enters the ground. They are placed equidistant and form a circle, the faces directed toward the center.</p> <p>In 1624, Captain John Smith⁴ spoke of the images of the Virginia Indians as follows:</p> <p>"They thinke that all the gods are of humane shape, and therefore represent them by Images in the formes of men; which they call KEWA-SOWOK; one alone is called KEWASA; them they place in their Temples, where they worship, pray, sing, and make many offerings. The common sort thinke them also gods."</p> <p>Some of the early writers assert that the images had nothing to do with religious observances, but were statues of great men or heroes. Adair, writing of the upper Creeks in 1775,⁵ says:</p> <p>"I never heard that our North American Indians had images of any kind. There is a carved human statue of wood, to which, however,</p>
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<p>they pay no religious homage. It belongs to the head war-town of the Upper Muskohge country, and seems to have been originally designed to perpetuate the memory of some distinguished hero, who deserved well of his country; for, when their <i>Cusseena</i>, or bitter black, drink is about to be drank in the synedrion, they frequently, on common occasions, will bring it there, and honour it with the first conch-shell-full, by the hand of the chief religious attendant; and then they return it to its former place. It is observable, that the same beloved waiter, or holy attendant, and his co-adjutant, equally observe the same ceremony to every person of reputed merit, in that quadrangular place. When I past that way, circumstances did not allow me to view this singular figure; but I am assured by several of the traders, who have frequently seen it, that the carving is modest, and very neatly finished, not unworthy of a modern civilized artist."</p> <p>Charles C. Jones⁶ writes:</p> <p>"Elsewhere in the Spanish narratives do we read of wooden images of birds; but, so far as we now remember, no account is given of a single idol or object of adoration among the aborigines. At TALOMECO [a former Creek town near Savannah river, South Carolina], De Soto found a large temple or mausoleum, at whose entrance</p>	
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	<p>were gigantic statues of wood, carved with considerable skill, the largest of which was twelve feet high. They were armed with various weapons and 'stood in threatening attitudes, with ferocious looks.' The interior of the temple was decorated with statues of various shapes and sizes. There was also a great profusion of conchs and different kinds of sea and river shells. It does not appear, however, that these images were objects of religious veneration or positive worship. Like the 'carved human statue of wood' in the head war-town of the upper Muskohge country, described by Adair, they seem rather to have been effigies of heroes, the embodiments of brave memories, the symbols of tribal pomp and power."</p> <p>The same writer⁷ also says:</p> <p>"Of all the Southern tribes, however, the Natchez were probably most addicted to the worship of idols. Père le Petit (<i>Letters Ed. et Cur.</i>, IV, 261, quoted by Dr. Brinton, in the <i>Historical Magazine</i>, vol. IX, p. 300) says: 'The Natchez have a temple filled with idols. These idols are different figures of men and women for which they have the deepest veneration.' In another passage he is more explicit: 'Their idols are images of men and women made of stone and baked clay, heads and tails of extraordinary serpents, stuffed owls, pieces of crystal and the jaw-bones of great fishes.'"</p>
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<p>It is therefore evident that the Indians comprising the ancient Southern tribes used the idols of stone and pottery in their temples, and, no doubt, in connection with similar idols carved from wood. Dr Joseph Jones,⁸ in his general conclusions concerning the antiquities of Tennessee, states:</p> <p>"It is impossible to establish, by authentic history, the relations of the stone-grave race of Tennessee with the Natchez, and we do not assert that they were one and the same people, but only that they were most probably closely related in their origin, and may, at some former time, have been subjected to the same form of government, and practised the same or similar rites."</p> <p>To what extent and in what numbers wooden idols in human form were used by the prehistoric Indians can never be ascertained, but from the great number of similar figures in stone and pottery that, through their ability to withstand the elements, have been preserved, it is highly probable that a great many were employed by the natives, both in their sacred houses and in their general ceremonies. As early as 1807</p>	
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	<p>two such stone idols were described as having been presented to Mr Jefferson. In writing of these idols, C. C. Jones⁹ says:</p> <p>“But is is not alone in Georgia that these images are found. Tennessee, above all her sister states, seems to be most prolific of them. In the beginning of this century, Mr. Jefferson was presented with two ‘Indian busts’ which were unearthed by some laborers who were excavating along the bank of the Cumberland River, near Palmyra (<i>Monthly Magazine, or British Register</i>, vol. XXIV, part 1, for 1807. p. 74). They are described thus: ‘The human form extends to the middle of the body, and the figures are nearly of the natural size. The lineaments are strongly marked, and such as are peculiar to the copper-colored aboriginal inhabitants of America. It is not known of what materials they are made: some are of opinion that they have been cut with a chisel or sharp instrument out of stone: others think that they have been moulded or shaped of a soft composition, and afterward baked. The substance is extremely hard. It has not been ascertained whether they are idols or only images of distinguished men. It will be an interesting object of research for antiquarians to discover who were the ancestors of the present Indians capable of executing such a good resemblance of the human head, face, neck, and shoulders.’”</p>
X	INDIAN NOTES

IMAGES OF POTTERY	75
<p>Most of the pottery idols are relatively small, but some of those made of stone exceed two feet in height, and many of these closely approximate the form of the wooden idol from Kentucky.</p> <p>Gen. Gates P. Thruston¹⁰ describes and illustrates three stone idols in the collection of the Tennessee Historical Society. One of these, from Trousdale county, in general appearance is similar to the wooden figure under consideration, the base being squared and the arms resting at the sides. One arm is missing, but the central portion of the remaining one is carved in the round. Most of the stone idols of this type have an oval face, but the second or central one of the group referred to by Thruston has an elongate face, with a pronounced pointed chin. This one is from Williamson county, the third idol is from Smith county, Tennessee. The arms are extended at the sides, with the forearms thrown forward and the hands flattened upon the knees, palms down, with fingers extended. The chest portion is raised,</p>	
AND MONOGRAPHS	7

76	KENTUCKY IMAGE
	<p>the abdominal region being thereby depressed, but having a rounded central area. These images are all from "the general section occupied by the Stone Grave race in middle Tennessee."</p> <p>In 1886 a stone idol was found near the Etowah group of mounds at Cartersville, Georgia. It is twenty-one inches in height and represents a seated human figure with crossed legs. The body is squared and is not unlike that of our wooden image from Kentucky. The treatment of the arms is the same, the shoulders being rounded and the elbows bent; the hands rest upon the knees, and the fingers are extended. The ears are carved in relief, and, judging by the remaining portion of the right ear of the wooden figure, are of the same form. The face is more rounded, but in its entirety the idol shows that both figures might well have come from the same source.¹¹</p> <p>Another stone idol, from the same place, was figured and described by C. C. Jones in 1873.¹² It is 15¾ inches</p>
X	INDIAN NOTES

IMAGES OF POTTERY	77
<p>in height, and represents the figure of a seated woman with a garment covering the hips and legs. The trunk is squared, and the breasts are in high relief and well carved. One arm is missing, but the other is separated from the body by a broad space, and the closed hand rests against the hip. The ears are well defined and are pierced for the attachment of ornaments. This figure is much more realistic than any other that had been noted, as the clavicles, breasts, and navel are indicated and the kilt-like dress is ornamented both on the sides and the back; it is, however, not so well proportioned as the one found in 1886.</p> <p>In the final analysis of his investigations as to the use of human images by the early tribes of Georgia and the adjacent country, Jones thus summarizes his conclusions:¹³</p> <p>"Without further pursuing this inquiry into the recorded observations of the early writers who have endeavored to inform us with regard to the religion of the Southern Indians, it will be perceived that, while we have thus</p>	
AND MONOGRAPHS	7

78	KENTUCKY IMAGE
	<p>far failed to note any emphatic account declaring the existence of idol-worship among the Georgia tribes, we are certified of the fact that idols were seen in the possession of coterminous nations, and that they were held in superstitious veneration and regard, in some measure at least, as objects of devotion. It does appear, however, that they occupied, in the esteem of the natives, a position far inferior to that conceded to the sun or to the Great Spirit, and that they constituted only a sort of religious machinery in the hands of kings, priests, conjurers, and old men, with which to dignify temples, supplement certain sacred festivals, and operate upon the fears and credulity of the more ignorant and unthinking masses. One is tempted to regard them rather as conjurers' images, as the private property of priests, as the likenesses of famous dead, and as the potent charms of medicine-men, than as the generally acknowledged embodiments of the person and presence of unseen yet recognized divinities. Although Bolzius, Bartram, Adair, and others, deny either positively or inferentially the existence of idols or images within the limits then occupied by the Georgia Indians, subsequent investigations prove by the discovered presence of images themselves, that at some time or other idol-worship of some sort was here practiced. The ornamented posts, the wooden images, and the questionable figures of men, birds, and animals sketched upon the white walls of the Creek</p>
X	INDIAN NOTES

CONCLUSIONS	79
<p>houses—if any religious significance they possessed—have long since perished.”</p> <p>Many other authorities might be quoted and mention made of the employment of similar objects by modern tribes, such as the use of carved human faces, by the Delaware Indians on the posts of their long-houses; the use of medicine dolls in sacred bundles; and of small fetishes in human form, sometimes merely the representation of a head, which may well be a reflex of the more elaborate images of earlier times. Such figures are mentioned by Zeisberger,¹⁴ who says:</p> <p>“The only idol which the Indians have, and which may properly be called an idol, is their Wsinkhoalican, that is image. It is an image cut in wood, representing a human head, in miniature, which they always carry about them either on a string around their neck or in a bag. They often bring offerings to it. In their houses of sacrifices they have a head of this idol as large as life put upon a pole in the middle of the room.”</p> <p>It is to be regretted that there are not more of these wooden images and that so little definite information concern-</p>	
AND MONOGRAPHS	7

80	KENTUCKY IMAGE
	<p>ing their use has been recorded; but the Kentucky specimen furnishes conclusive evidence that idols of wood were carved in the same form as were those of stone and pottery.</p> <p>Investigations made by early writers seem to prove that images in human form and of all three kinds of materials referred to were used by the Indians in their places of worship, and all of these types have been found in Kentucky. Among the stone figures from that state, similar to those herein mentioned, three are figured by Colonel Young. The exact localities from which they came is not known, but they no doubt had their origin in the southern part of Kentucky, where practically all of the human images of pottery illustrated by Young were unearthed. Pineville, Kentucky, where the wooden figure was found, is in Bell county, on the southern border, and is only a few miles from the northern part of Claiborne county, Tennessee. It is therefore probable that the wooden image came from a locality not far from the</p>
X	INDIAN NOTES

NOTES	81
<p>northern boundary of the area noted for images of this form, though of other materials.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">NOTES</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. YOUNG, BENNETT H. The Prehistoric Men of Kentucky, <i>Filson Club Publications</i>, No. 25, p. 269, ill., p. 255, Louisville, 1910. 2. COLLINS, LEWIS. History of Kentucky, vol. 2, p. 412, Covington, Kentucky, 1874. 3. HARIOT, THOMAS. A Briefe and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia, Frankfort, 1590; Quaritch reprint, London, 1893. 4. SMITH, CAPTAIN JOHN. The General Historie of Virginia, New England, and the Summer Isles, p. 10, London, 1624. 5. ADAIR, JAMES. The History of the American Indians, pp. 19-22, London, 1775. 6. JONES, CHARLES C., JR. Antiquities of the Southern Indians, p. 423, New York, 1873. 7. Ibid., p. 427. 8. JONES, DR JOSEPH. Explorations of the Aboriginal Remains of Tennessee, <i>Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge</i> (Publication no. 259), p. 147, Washington, 1876. 9. JONES, CHARLES C., JR. Op. cit., p. 436. 10. THRUSTON, GATES P. The Antiquities of Tennessee and the Adjacent States, pp. 103-104, Cincinnati, 1897. 	
AND MONOGRAPHS	7

82	KENTUCKY IMAGE
	<p>11. MOOREHEAD, WARREN K. The Stone Age in North America, vol. 2, p. 28, Boston, 1910.</p> <p>12. JONES, CHARLES C., JR. Op. cit. pp. 432-435.</p> <p>13. Ibid., pp. 429-430.</p> <p>14. ZEISBERGER, DAVID. History of the North American Indians, edited by Archer Butler Hulbert and William Nathaniel Schwarze, <i>Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society</i>, p. 141, 1910. For further information on the use of carved wooden images among the Delaware Indians, see Harrington, M. R., Religion and Ceremonies of the Lenape, <i>Indian Notes and Monographs</i> (in press).</p>
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A MOHAWK FORM OF RITUAL
OF CONDOLENCE,
APRIL 9, 1782

BY
JOHN DESERONTYON

TRANSLATED, WITH AN INTRODUCTION,
BY
J. N. B. HEWITT



TÊTE DE BOULE BARK TRAY. $23\frac{3}{4}$ X $11\frac{1}{2}$ X $5\frac{3}{4}$ IN. (14/2076)

DECORATIVE ART OF THE TÊTES DE BOULE OF QUEBEC

D. S. DAVIDSON

THE Tête de Boule Indians, who occupy the upper St. Maurice district of Quebec, are in many respects a typical band of the north-eastern Algonkians. Like their neighbors they are semi-nomadic hunters, devoting most of their time to trapping operations in the bush. Although they have been known to Europeans since the early days of New France,¹ their contact with civilization until recent times has never been intense; nevertheless, their reactions to the European influences which have penetrated to them have been both interesting and peculiar. In respect to culture modification, the art work of these people may be taken as a unique example.

¹ The Jesuits speak of the Attikamègues and of the Whitefish tribe as inhabiting the upper Three Rivers, a term which they applied to what is now the St. Maurice. The Têtes de Boule at Weymontachingue call themselves *Tcekamèk' iriniwak*, or whitefish people. Obviously the terms are cognates. Vide Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents, edited by Edna Kenton, pp. 161, 162, 165, 459, 460, New York, 1925.

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ACCULTURATION

The introduction of European material culture into a native group, in those cases where native populations are not disrupted by war and disease, usually adds great zest to native artistry and ornamentation. The securing of silk threads, colored cloths, glass beads, steel needles and knives, and the other usual utensils and articles to be found in a trader's stock, in most instances produces a great art stimulation, for with these acquirements the esthetic ambition of a group may be more easily realized. The modern art work of the Iroquois, the Plains tribes, and the Labrador bands, among many others, may be pointed out as exemplifications of this stimulus. The Têtes de Boule, on the other hand, seem to have had a reaction quite dissimilar. Instead of accentuating their development in decorative art, the influence of civilization seems to have had the opposite effect, and today we find their decorative work in a very impoverished condition. Not only is their esthetic endeavor meager, but, generally speaking, their art is often executed in slovenly fashion. Of course, nothing seems to be known about the decorative art of these particular people in the past, but it would seem probable that its development was not less intense than that of their neighbors to the east where a strong art tradition is not only still retained, but in all probability is much enhanced over its former

condition. Why this degeneration of Tête de Boule art from a supposedly higher standard has taken place will probably never be known. Apparently it is one of those unexplainable whims of preliterate culture.

DECORATION OF BIRCH-BARK BOXES

Decoration among the Têtes de Boule is confined to only two main types of articles—birch-bark containers (s., *wigwàmuti*, bark receptacle) and moccasins (s., *maskìsin*). The techniques include etching in positive relief—that is, by scraping away the dark coating on the inner surface of the birch-bark, leaving designs standing forth in the dark foreground with a light background. Another feature of decoration is the use of spruce-root lashings and bindings in different colors around the rims. Silk-thread embroidery and the use of braid form decorative processes on moccasin vamps. The use of glass beads seems to be unknown,¹ at least it is

¹ Beadwork has been assigned to the Têtes de Boule by Dr. Speck in his monograph, *The Double-curve Motive in Northeastern Algonkian Art, Memoir 42, Dept. of Mines, Ottawa, 1914*, vide table, p. 15. There now live with the Lake St. John Montagnais several families of Têtes de Boule who are descendants of the now disrupted band of Kokokash Têtes de Boule. It is possible that this group practised beadwork, but more probable that they acquired the art since joining the Montagnais. Among the latter it is an important industry.

Porcupine quillwork may have been important in the past. The Jesuits report a headband made of this material among the Attikamègue (Jesuit Relations, vol. 32, p. 285).

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not practised at the present day, nor could any information be obtained as to its former existence. Porcupine quillwork and moose-hair embroidery are also absent. Woodcarving has been noticed on only two specimens—a small wooden ladle and a cradle-board which I was unable to obtain. The end of the



FIG. 1.—Decorated cradle-board (back view) of Manouan sub-band of Têtes de Boule.

handle of the ladle is carved into the representation of what appears to be a beaver head. All other Tête de Boule wooden ladles are undecorated, some being but crudely made. The decorations on the cradle-board are shown in figs. 1 to 4. The heart

may be the indirect result of Christian influence, for this design could easily have been derived from the bitten-bark patterns herein described. The



FIG. 2.—Front view of cradle-board shown in fig. 1.

dots, leaves, and triangles are consistent with the motives appearing on the birch-bark containers. Practically all of the specimens illustrated in this

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paper were collected by the writer during several visits to the Têtes de Boule. They are now in the collections of the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation.

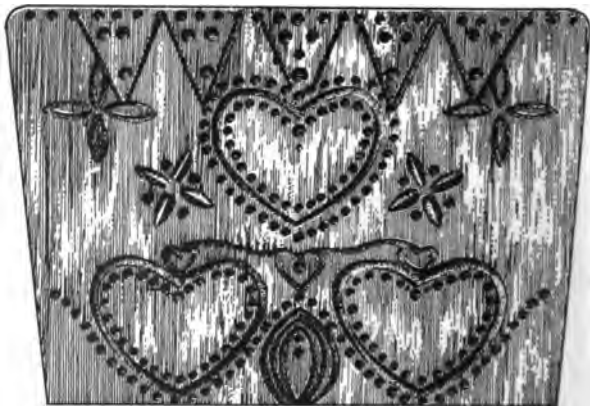


FIG. 3.—Detail of design on back of cradle-board in fig. 1.

The Têtes de Boule manufacture a great variety of birch-bark containers which range in size from small boxes of a few inches in length to large trunk-like hampers capable of holding a bushel or more. A splendid example of the latter, $20\frac{1}{2}$ by 16 inches, is shown in fig. 5, *a*. It will be noticed that the grain of the bark runs with the length and not with the breadth as in all the other containers. The total width of this piece of bark is approximately four

et, and therefore it must have been taken from one of the largest trees of the locality. Trays are sometimes made, but seem to be rather uncommon. The one pictured in pl. 1 is a fine example and of quite pretentious size, measuring $23\frac{3}{4}$ by $11\frac{1}{2}$ by $5\frac{3}{4}$ inches.

One of the characteristics of Tête de Boule containers is their approximately rectangular shape.



FIG. 4.—Detail of design on foot of cradle-board in fig. 1.

This feature holds true for the tops and generally the side and end walls as well. The dimensions of the rim and cover usually do not fall far below the measurements of the bottom, and this contributes to the rectangular appearance. When the Tête de Boule objects are compared with the corresponding ones made by some of the other bands of the central region, the contrast is quite noticeable, for very often the containers of the latter have oval sides and covers, and the sides are more tapering.



FIG. 5.—Birch-bark containers. *a*, Length 20½ in., height 16 in. (14/2067). *b*, Length 18 in., height 13½ in. (14/3075).



FIG. 6.—Birch-bark containers. *a*, Length 5 in., height $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. (14/2073). *b*, Length $9\frac{1}{2}$ in., height $7\frac{1}{2}$ in. (14/2074).

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The side walls, in addition, are often higher in proportion to the length, and this serves to accentuate the tapering appearance.

DESIGN ELEMENTS

Very few of the Tête de Boule birch-bark boxes are decorated, those shown in figs. 5 and 6 being average examples. When designs occur on the birch-bark they are always etched in a positive style. Figs. 7 to 13 inclusive show a variety of the design elements. It will be noticed, if one observes closely, that when a design appears repeatedly on a bark vessel, its dimensions and form in many cases seem to be identical. This condition appears to be especially striking on the *wigwamutî* portrayed in fig. 10, for here great pains were taken in the decoration. The similarity described is not the outcome of able freehand sketching on the part of each artist, but is due to the use of patterns fashioned by cutting pieces of folded birch-bark. When the bark is unfolded a double design of the original figure is formed. These patterns are then outlined on the objects to be decorated wherever the designs are desired. Figs. 7, 10, 12, and 13 well illustrate these symmetrical figures. Sometimes, however, the patterns are cut from a single thickness of bark, as for example the duck designs shown in fig. 8. It is apparent that at least two different duck patterns were used in the decoration of this vessel, the two ducks in the upper row being obviously derived from

different pattern from the one or ones used in the middle and lower rows. In this particular instance it is impossible to say definitely just how many patterns were used, for very often the outlining from



FIG. 7.—Birch-bark container. Length 6 in., height $4\frac{1}{2}$ in.

selected pattern is hastily or carelessly performed, as a consequence some distortion of the original is. After the patterns have been used they are destroyed nor thrown away, but are put aside for re use. Some are retained and used for years.

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If these patterns were a little more individual in style it would be possible perhaps to recognize in collections made year after year the work and decoration of various persons.



FIG. 8.—Birch-bark container. Length 6 in., height $4\frac{1}{2}$ in.
(14/3080)

After the patterns have been outlined on the places to be decorated, the surface of the bark is moistened. When it is well soaked it is possible to remove the thin dark layer with a sharp or hard instrument. The inside of the container, which is



FIG. 9.—Birch-bark containers. *a*, Length 15 in., height 11½ in. (14/7844). *b*, Length 8½ in., height 7½ in. (14/2071). *c*, Length 9½ in., height 7½ in. (14/2074).



FIG. 10.—Birch-bark container. Length $15\frac{1}{2}$ in., height $11\frac{1}{2}$ in.
(14/7845)

he outer surface of the bark, is never scraped nor decorated. There is no difference in use between the



FIG. 11.—End view of the container shown in fig. 10. (14/7845)

decorated and plain containers, for all serve utilitarian purposes. The larger ones may be used as clothes hampers, supply boxes, or as general storage

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receptacles. The smaller ones may serve as sewing boxes, sugar bowls, or as the keeping places for accumulated oddments.

In the decoration of the bark vessels both realistic and geometrical elements are present. It is seldom that one motive is practised to the exclusion of the other, but more often both are to be found in an inconsistent arrangement on each single decorated box. When decoration occurs, the long side walls usually receive the most attention; next in importance are the ends, and finally the cover. As will be seen in the accompanying illustrations, each wall of a decorated container has been treated independently and with complete disregard of the design elements which may have been used on the opposite side. Figs. 7 and 8 show the two sides of one *wigwamutí*. Here, except for some semicircular figures around the rim, the one side is decorated almost entirely with ducks. The opposite wall, however, contains a plant figure with what appear to be flowers, fruit, or leaves, while along its rim triangular figures have been placed. There is no cover for this specimen. Fig. 9 portrays Tête de Boule decoration in its most slovenly form. The one side wall of this specimen depicts a solitary duck or loon carelessly etched in the mottled appearing surface which the artist has not taken the trouble to scrape thoroughly. At first glance the arrangement of the leaves on the cover seems to be idiotic at best, but the condition of the bark was responsible for this selection. This

particular container was made very late in the spring when the bark cannot be worked with facility and then, consequently, decoration is quite difficult to apply. Moreover, the brown inner surface is in an

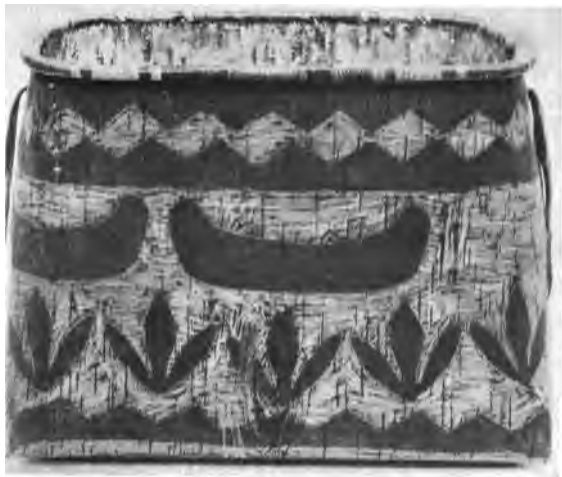


FIG. 12.—Opposite side of container shown in fig. 10. (14/7845)

especially poor condition at this period. These circumstances may excuse the artist from excellent work, but they seem to constitute a rather poor apology for such a monstrosity in decoration.

The better type of Tête de Boule endeavor in artistic decoration is shown in figs. 10 to 12. These

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picture the cover, two sides, and an end of a single container. The cover is quite pleasing in appearance and the decorative elements are well arranged. The figures in the center and corners represent ducks, and the other elements were said to be leaves. The dotted arrangement around the edge represents the stitching of the two pieces of bark of which the cover is composed. Ducks, leaves, and triangles are used on one side, while canoes, leaves, and a motive which probably was intended to show diamonds but which in appearance is partly zigzag, are found on the other. The end view well illustrates the inconsistency in the decoration of the two sides.

DUCK MOTIVE

The duck motive is a common one throughout this general region, except to the east, where it seems to be unimportant although present in Montagnais ornamentation. To the south and southwest it is to be found among the Grand Lake Victoria and Lake Barrière bands, according to statements made to me by members of those bands, although I have not seen any actual specimens which portrayed this design. Farther to the southwest it occurs at Timagami,¹ while to the north it has been noticed among the Waswanipi² and Eastern Cree.³ Because

¹ Material collected by Dr. Speck.

² Information secured in the field which has been verified by Rev. Dr. John M. Cooper.

³ Skinner, A. B., Notes on the Eastern Cree and Northern Saulteaux, *Anthr. Papers Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist.*, vol. ix, pt. 1, p. 46, New York, 1911.



FIG. 13.—Birch-bark container. Length $9\frac{1}{2}$ in., height $8\frac{1}{2}$ in.
(14/2075)

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of an insufficiency of collected material, further extension of its distribution cannot be made at this time. Among all these groups the duck motive appears to be present only on the sides and covers of birch-bark containers. There it is etched in positive relief in the manner described. The Hudson Bay, Ungava, and Labrador Eskimo should be included perhaps within this area of distribution, for the duck seems to be a common subject among their sculptured ivory work.¹

The place of origin of the two containers shown in figs. 14 to 17 cannot be definitely asserted, although both seem to have come from the region of Obidjuan. Neither, however, was secured directly from the Indians. One was obtained by Dr. Speck at Weymont from Mr. Delair who had picked it up at Obidjuan; the other was procured by the writer from Mr. Edwardson at Oskalaneo. Neither Mr. Delair nor Mr. Edwardson remembered from whom the respective containers had been obtained. Since Indians from Waswanipi go to Obidjuan and Oskalaneo each summer, there is a possibility that both may have been derived from that source. Both are decorated in a similar geometrical style, dots, lines, and zigzags predominating. The cover of one (fig. 16) is also well ornamented with the

¹ Turner, L. M., *Ethnology of the Ungava District, Hudson Bay Territory, 11th Ann. Rep. Bur. Amer. Ethnol.*, p. 260, Washington, 1894; Hawkes, E. W., *The Labrador Eskimo, Memoir 91, Geol. Surv.*, pl. 32, Ottawa, 1916.



FIG. 14.—Birch-bark container of undetermined origin. Length 10 in., height 9 in. (13/7002)

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stitch design. This container does not have the end flaps cut out like the others, and in addition these flaps are sewed to the container at the bottom as well as in the usual semicircular fashion. It must



FIG. 15.—Opposite side of the container shown in fig. 14. (13/7002)

also be pointed out that on both of these boxes the stitching is widely separated, and this is in distinct contrast to that noticeable on the average bona fide Tête de Boule container. Questioning of the Têtes



FIG. 16.—Birch-bark container of undetermined origin. Length $8\frac{1}{2}$ in., height $6\frac{1}{2}$ in. (14/3094)

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de Boule themselves did not elucidate the matter. At the present time very little is known about the decorative art of the Waswanipi, hence until material



FIG. 17.—Opposite side of container shown in fig. 16. (14/3094)

is forthcoming from them it seems allowable to maintain an attitude of skepticism on this point.

The covers of the containers are generally without

decoration. The ones shown in figs. 9, 10, and 16 do not represent those ordinarily found. Practically every cover, however, except the very small ones, shows some stitching in the center, and this often assumes an artistic form. The incentive to decorate the centers of the covers is strictly the result of a utilitarian need, for, as the covers consist of two layers of bark, some stitching is needed to prevent bulging. Figs. 5, 10, 13, and 14 illustrate the usual method of joining the two layers. The esthetic possibilities which this feature may attain may be seen in fig. 9, *a*, *b*. Another cover feature is the stitch design which often appears around the edge and which has already been mentioned.

Rim Decoration

The rim of a *wigwàmuti* is composed of a rim proper made of wood and spruce-root lashings (*otabi*) which fasten it to the container. These lashings are wound around the wood in continuous fashion and in such manner that each loop is passed through a small hole awled in the bark vessel and then is wound upward and over the rim again. The lashings are placed close together, so that each loop touches the parallel loops on each side of it. Very often two loops are passed through the same hole in order to conserve the strength of the bark, for if a hole were made for every loop, fraying of the bark might occur. At the rounded "corners" sometimes as many as three loops are passed through the same

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hole. In these cases there is an additional incentive, for in order to retain the regular interval of the lashings along the outer and consequently longer ledge, and on the top, the shorter inner margin requires that an overlapping be made. The desired result of external appearance is thus secured through this method of wrapping.

The roots are rarely retained in their natural hue, but are generally dyed in varying shades of the primary colors, hence a fine opportunity for a decorative scheme presents itself. Differently colored roots are wrapped around the rim in blocks at intervals which vary according to the ideas of the maker. Each block is contiguous to the next; that is, there is no break in the continuous wrapping around the rim. Usually the middles of the four sides are wrapped in the same color. Proceeding from the middles in both directions the contiguous colors are identical; likewise the third colors are respectively the same, and so on until the corners are met. In pl. I the large tray well illustrates this decorative principle. The arrangement of the lashings may also be noticed in the pictures of the other bark objects.

In some cases the color scheme may run in a sequence such as white, red, green, white, red, green, this order being followed around the complete rim. While there may be a few cases in which the rim decoration may be irregular, it must be emphasized that in respect to the use of colored lashings the

Tête de Boule containers appear to be entirely consistent. Of the scores which the writer has collected or examined in the field, not one has been seen which did not correspond in this feature.

The distribution of this particular style of rim decoration is a problem which has never received the serious attention of anyone. To the south of the Têtes de Boule it seems to be lacking entirely. The Lake St. John Montagnais to the east use it but little, according to Dr. Speck; but among the Mistassini to the north it is very common, if not characteristic. The Grand Lake Victoria and Lake Barrière bands to the southwest, according to verbal information as well as by an examination of a few specimens, seem not to practise this decorative scheme. The rims of their birch-bark vessels are characterized by wrappings in the plain undyed color of the roots, and they are therefore unattended by any arrangement of an esthetic nature. In this respect they agree with their southwestern neighbors, the Timagami and Timiskaming. Farther to the southwest are the Ojibwa, who likewise seem to lack the colored rim element. Among the Athabascans however, the use of colored rim lashings seems to be well known and practised over a wide area. Specimens from many places which are in the Museum of the American Indian, the University Museum at Philadelphia, and the McGill Museum of Montreal, show many examples of this nature, although the styles of manufacture of the containers

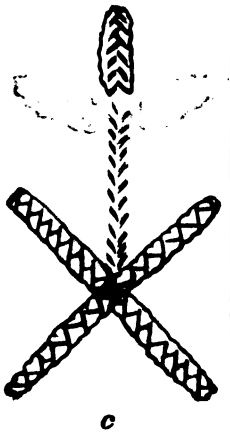
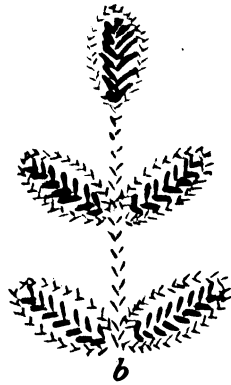
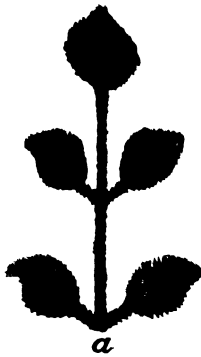
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themselves are quite different. For the regions intermediate to those mentioned nothing may be said until the necessary material has been collected from the field.

Moccasin Decoration

Aside from the birch-bark containers, the moccasin is the only other article of the Têtes de Boule which receives much decoration. Moccasins are of three main types, as shown in figs. 18 and 19. Of these three the ordinary puckered moccasin constitutes at least ninety percent of the moccasins manufactured. The Weymontachingue Têtes de Boule produce annually hundreds of pairs of moccasins which they sell to the Hudson's Bay Company. These are shipped to other posts where they are sold to the Indians whose region has become devoid of moose and caribou, and where consequently there now exists little material for the manufacture of this type of footwear. At Weymont, therefore, I found it possible to examine a multitude of new and unworn moccasins in addition to those worn by the natives themselves. There are no differences between those manufactured for export and those made for home use.

The ordinary puckered moccasin is usually plain except for a line or two of silk braid which may be sewed around the margin of the vamp (fig. 18, *a*). In some cases even this feature has been dispensed with. In a few pairs I found this type of decoration



MOCCASIN VAMP DESIGNS OF COARSE TYPE



FIG. 18.—Winter moccasins. (*a*, 13/7003; *b*, 14/3067)



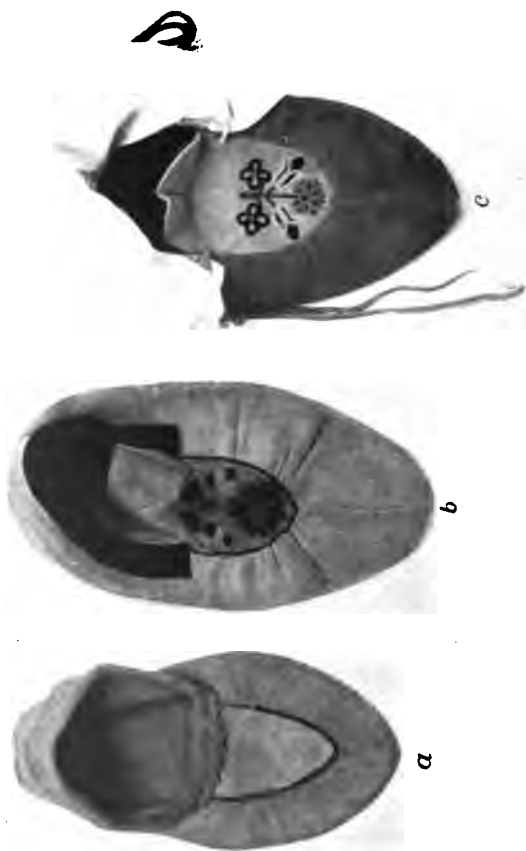
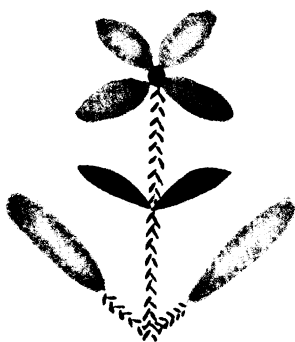
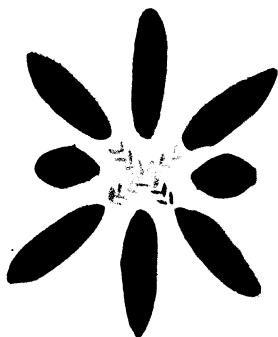


FIG. 19.—a, b, Tête de Boule summer moccasins (14/2080, 3083). c, Waawanipl moccasin with finely decorated vamp and cloth top (14/3093).



MOCCASIN VAMP DESIGNS OF INTERMEDIATE TYPE

to consist of silk thread. Various types of stitching were used, according to the will of the maker. Some of these may be distinguished in fig. 19, *a-c*. There seems to be no general symbolic significance



FIG. 20.—Mittens with braid decoration. (13/7006)

for this type of decoration, although one old woman told me that the single line represented a river and that a zigzag line implied rapids. This interpretation seemed to be entirely her own, for I could find no substantiation for it among the other women. The use of a line or two of silk braid for decorative

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purposes is not confined entirely to moccasins, but may also be applied to the cuffs of mittens (fig. 20), bags, and other leather articles. The rim of the moccasin is often improved in appearance by the addition of tape or a strip of cloth as in fig. 19, *b*.

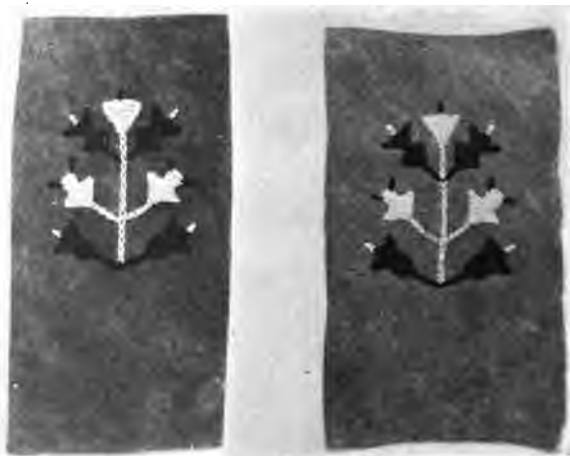


FIG. 21.—Moccasin vamps decorated before cutting and joining to the soles. The dark denotes red, the light indicates blue. (14/3084)

This feature is to be found even on some winter moccasins, in spite of the added uppers.

A great many moccasins, although their proportion of the total is not large, have floral designs sewn on the vamps. These range in quality of workmanship from carelessly made coarse stitching in silk thread



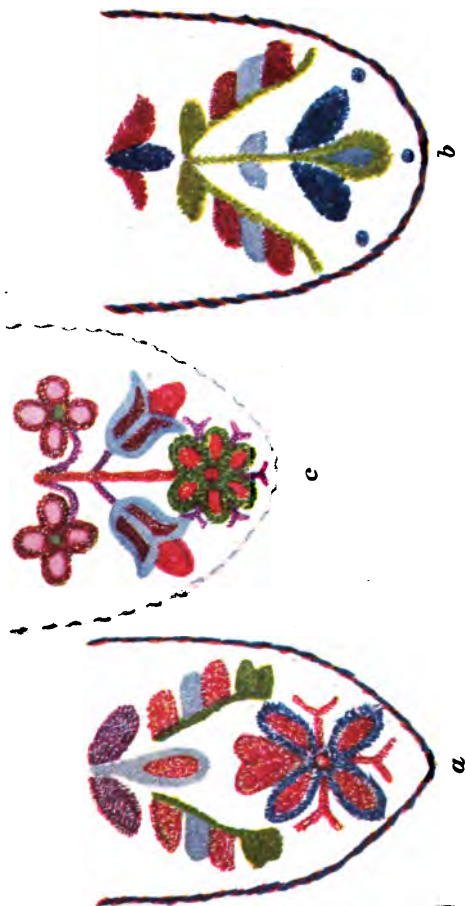
MOCCASIN VAMP DESIGN OF FINE TYPE BUT OF A SINGLE COLOR



FIG. 22.—Birch-bark bitten patterns. (14/3092)



FIG. 23.—Birch-bark bitten patterns. (14/3092)



MOCCASIN VAMP DESIGNS OF THE FINE TYPE. c IS FROM WASWANIP



of one color to finely executed designs in which threads of many colors are utilized. Pl. II illustrates the former type, and pl. V, c, portrays the latter. The latter is from Waswanipi and surpasses in quality all of the Tête de Boule specimens which the writer has seen. A few approach it in fineness of detail. The designs are sewn to the vamps before the latter are attached to the body of the moccasin (fig. 21) and are sewn in the blind-stitch fashion, most of the stitches not passing through the thickness of the leather.

BITTEN-BARK PATTERNS

It will be noticed that the floral designs are all more or less similar in general character. Individually the right and left halves are always identical. This matter of symmetry is dictated by the method of selecting the designs used. This method consists of biting patterns in birch-bark. A rectangular piece of bark of about $3\frac{1}{2}$ by 5 inches is peeled until a layer of the desired thinness is obtained.¹ This

¹ Kohl, J. G., *Kitchi Gami*, p. 412, London, 1860, speaks of birch-bark biting among the Ojibbeways. "This is an art which the squaws chiefly practice in spring in their sugar plantations. Still they do not all understand it, and only a few are really talented." Kohl proceeds to tell of the selection of the bark and how it was doubled and thrust between the teeth. In reference to the biting, he remarks, "The bark is not bitten into holes, but only pressed with the teeth, so that, when the designs are held up, they resemble to some extent those pretty porcelain transparencies made as light-screens."

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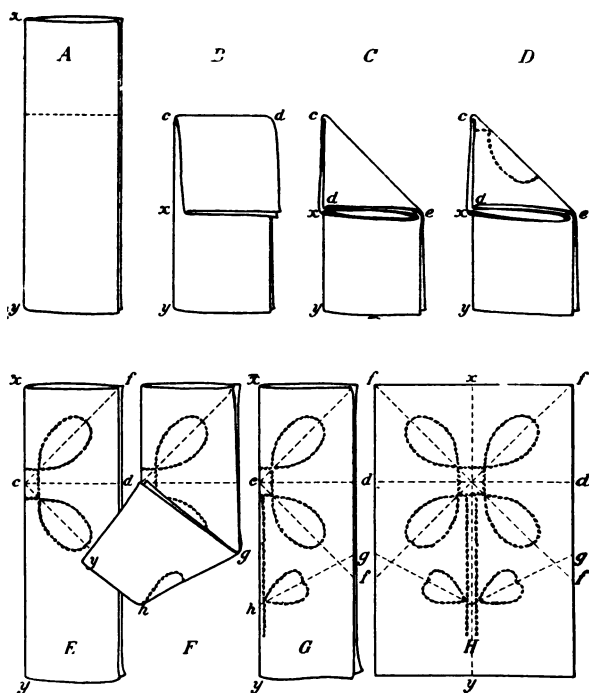
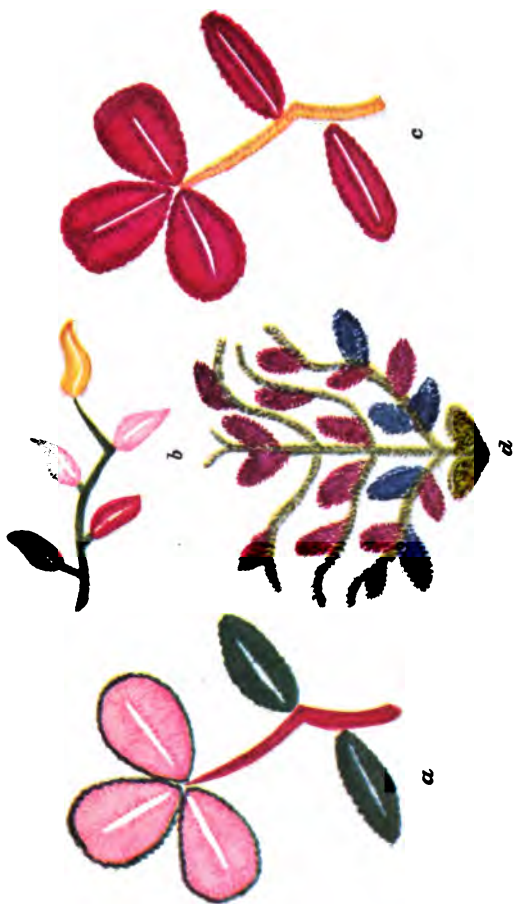


FIG. 24.—Showing the method of folding and biting birch-bark to produce moccasin designs.



MOCCASIN VAMP DESIGNS. *d* IS OF CRUDE WORKMANSHIP



piece is then folded double, the fold running with the grain, as indicated in fig. 24. The upper third, $c-x$, is next folded down as shown, the fold $c-d$ being at right angles to $c-x$. Lastly, a fold is made along the axis $c-e$, obliquely to $x-y$, the corner d being brought over and superimposed along the line $c-y$. As will be noticed, the section $c-d-e$ is composed of eight thicknesses of bark, each triangle being of 45° . While held in this shape the bark is inserted between the teeth and impressions are made along the line $c-e$ and across the angle $d-c-e$. It should be pointed out that these teeth-marks are made in a curve and in such manner that both ends of the curve intercept the axis $c-e$, for in order to have the bitten pattern contiguous from one thickness to the next when the pattern is unfolded, it is necessary that the bitten curve touch the axis common to them both.

The bark is unfolded until only the main fold $x-y$ is retained. The lower third then undergoes a similar process, but in this case only one additional fold is made and this usually at an angle of about 120° with $x-y$. Four thicknesses result, and these are bitten along the axis $h-g$. The original fold is then returned to and the design in the upper part is joined to the lower one by biting along the axis $x-y$. Very often extensions are made along $x-y$ below the lower design. On the unfolding of $x-y$ the design is complete and ready for use. From it the pattern is sketched on the leather pieces intended for the vamps. In some cases the design is sewed on free-

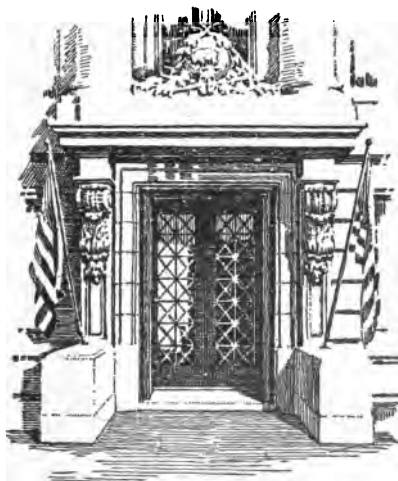
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hand, but the bitten pattern always serves as the guide. One pattern may be used for many pairs of moccasins, and in time it becomes committed to memory.

The bitten-bark patterns appear to be common to all the peoples between Newfoundland and the Plains. Although definite conclusions of their importance cannot be considered in this paper, it may be hinted that in them perhaps lie the origins of the two main art motives of northeastern North America. As we have seen, the use of bitten-bark patterns dictates certain limits in which the general outlines of the art designs shall fall. If the bark is folded, as it seems to be wherever bark-biting is practised, a symmetry is bound to result. If just one fold is made, it is impossible to avoid a duplication on each half. When a second, and in some cases a third, fold is made, the bitten element appears four and eight times respectively.

As has been said, these birch-bark patterns are very common throughout northeastern North America. Ultimately, when a sufficient number has been collected to permit a thorough study of their different types, new light may be shed on the origins of the various art motives for this part of the continent. The technologic result of a use of bitten-bark patterns is a symmetry, and this seems to be not only the fundamental element of the floral designs of the Têtes de Boule, but also the basic feature of the double-curve motive, as it occurs

among the Montagnais-Naskapi art to the east. Granted that both peoples originally had similar patterns, it would seem to be logical to suspect that entirely different interpretations might have been rendered. The eastern peoples may have been impressed by the geometrical feature of the design, and as a result may have developed their art along this line. The Têtes de Boule, and others perhaps, may have seen in the same design only elements of realism. No imagination is required to interpret in this simple symmetry a stem with leaves, a branch, or, more simply, a forked stick. On the basis of this reasoning it would seem to have been not impossible for the double-curve motive, which predominates eastward from the Rivière Trenche, and the floral design, which extends westward from the same river, to have originated from a common source. Until more becomes known, however, no definite conclusions may be drawn. Among the Têtes de Boule, it may be stated, there appears to be a noticeable trend toward a truer realism when the old conventional method of selecting the designs from the bitten patterns is dispensed with. In pl. vi are shown examples of stems to which floral elements are attached in an unsymmetrical fashion. These designs and similar ones often are to be noticed when the decoration is determined by freehand methods.



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